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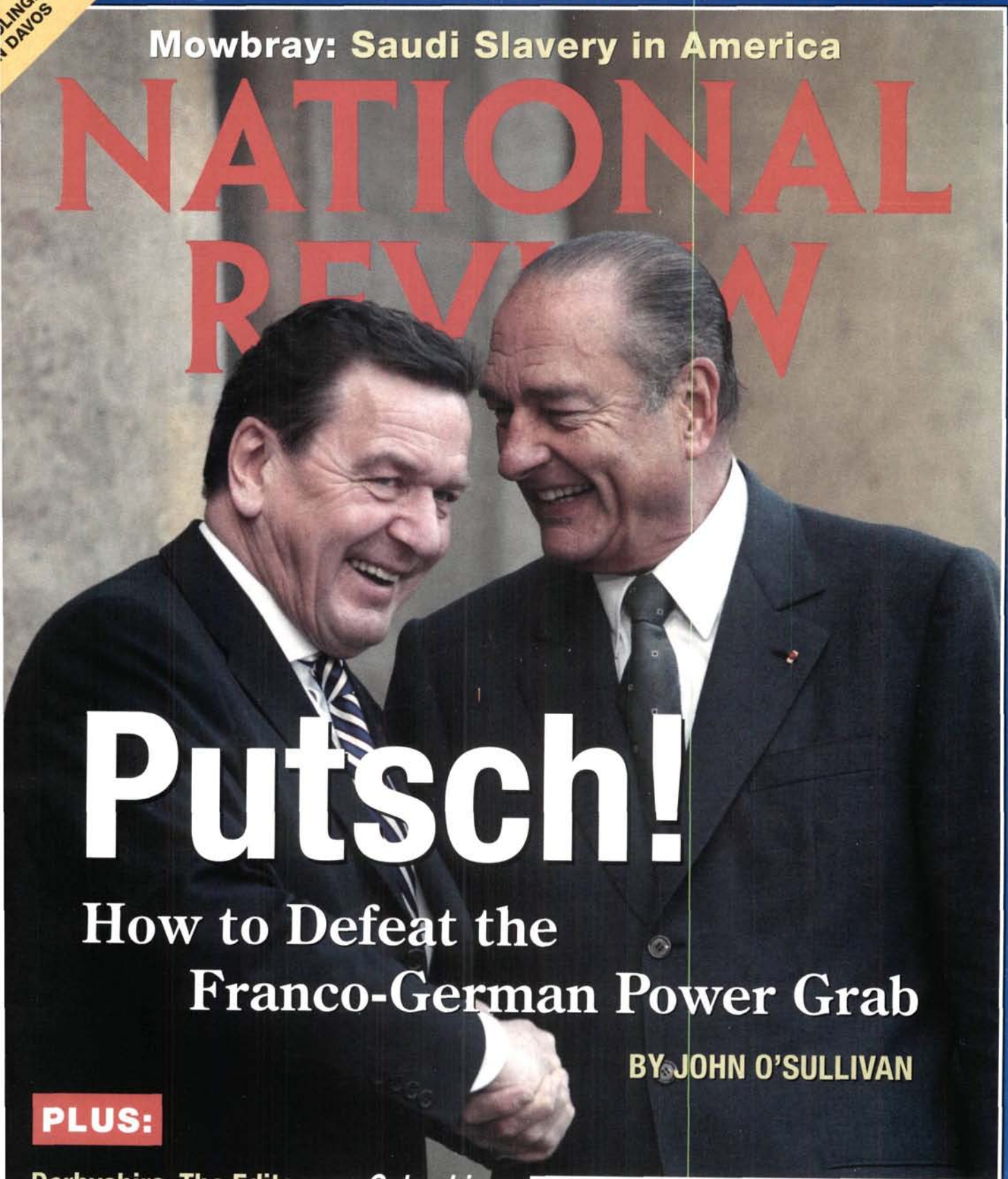

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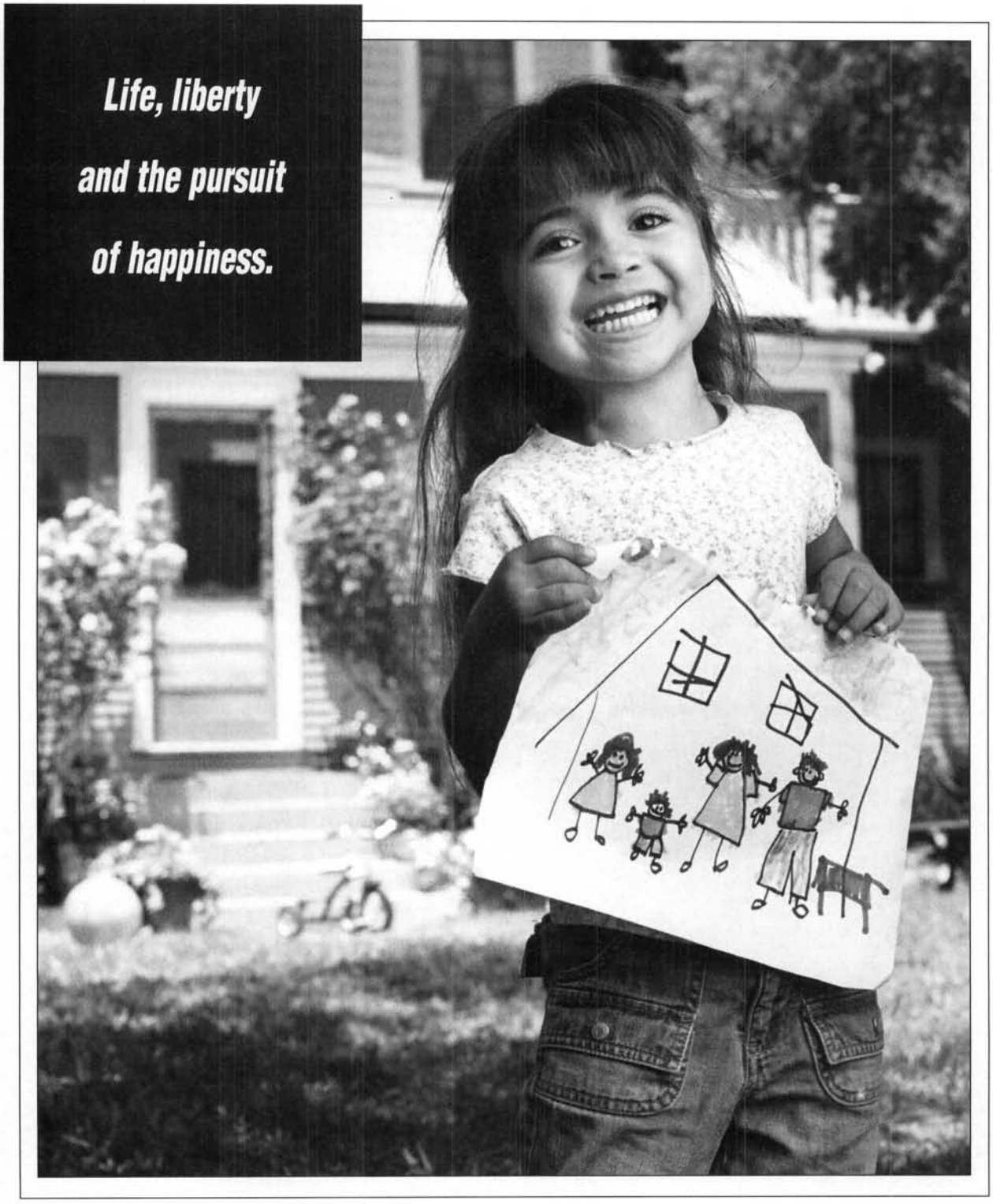

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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■ LETTERS ■

ANIMAL OVERDOSE

As a doctor, I appreciated Rod Dreher's article "USDA-Disapproved" (Jan. 27).

Unfortunately, Congress also favors factory farms over the health of consumers. In 2002 it failed to pass bills endorsed by the AMA that would have phased out the feeding of antibiotics to healthy farm animals to make them grow faster on less feed and to compensate for cramped, unhealthy conditions.

The AMA opposes this practice because it contributes to antibiotic resistance in human infections.

John M. Balbus, M.D.
Washington, D.C.

THE MONGOLS ARE COMING

In For the Record (Feb. 10) you quote Saddam Hussein comparing the U.N. or the U.S. to Mongols who will "commit suicide" on the walls of Baghdad. For the record, in 1258 the Mongols under the Khan Hulagu captured the city and put to death over 80,000 people, but the Christian community of Baghdad was spared.

Seems old "Insane Hussein" is as good a historian as he is a leader.

Penn Hudson
West Grove, Pa.

NR 'PC'

I was taken aback by the politically correct position NR took in the Jan. 27 editorial "After the Fall": ". . . we are inclined to agree that the Confederate flag ought to go." Go where, and why?

NR attracts an audience outside the Northeast and the Beltway. People such as myself who read and enjoy your magazine find such a stance offensive. To us the flag represents respect for southern heritage and Civil War fighting, as well as resistance to threats to individual freedom from the PC fascists. The flag's racist connotation, like a burning cross, is used only by extremists on both sides.

The citizens who voted to retain the St. Andrew's Cross in Mississippi and those who will vote for its return in Georgia do not deserve the slander your viewpoint implies.

Gregorio L. Sheehan
Altoona, Pa.

FANNING THE FLAMES?

Even allowing for political correctness having destroyed free speech, Mr. Lott's unthinking statements and actions thereafter showed him to be an unsuitable leader, but Richard Brookhiser's PC attack on the South ("Dixie Blues," Dec. 31) is another matter.

Whether the history books that shape Mr. Brookhiser's opinions contain twisted facts or not, does he understand that he is fanning the flames of the greatest schism in U.S. history which had largely died out before being relit by liberals in order to promote racial conflict?

Parham H. Baker
Lexington, Ky.

MYTHS IN ACADEME

Kudos to Stephen Moore for dispelling the myths of the Left by defending President Bush's proposed economic program ("A Man with a Plan," Feb. 10). After sitting through a tedious lecture by one of my economics professors today about why Bush's tax cut won't work, it was refreshing to get the facts from Mr. Moore. The myths are not only spreading in the media, as the author stated, they are propagating in academia as well.

I wish every college student could have a subscription to NR!

Brian P. Bialas
Lewisburg, Pa.

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Us too!*

GENN CONTRA KIM

Al-Qaeda hides in caves and strikes while our backs are turned. Iraq and North Korea continue to stockpile illicit weapons of mass destruction. Fortunately, the United States has something far greater in our arsenal: Roman Genn.

His utterly grotesque depiction of Kim Jong Il, which boldly graced NR's Jan. 27 cover, is right on par with his usual disgusting—yet deliciously politically incorrect—caricatures of our nation's enemies. While some in the media like to present evildoers as misunderstood and relatively harmless, Genn's illustrations show these despots for what they really are.

Dennis J. Petersen
Watertown, Conn.

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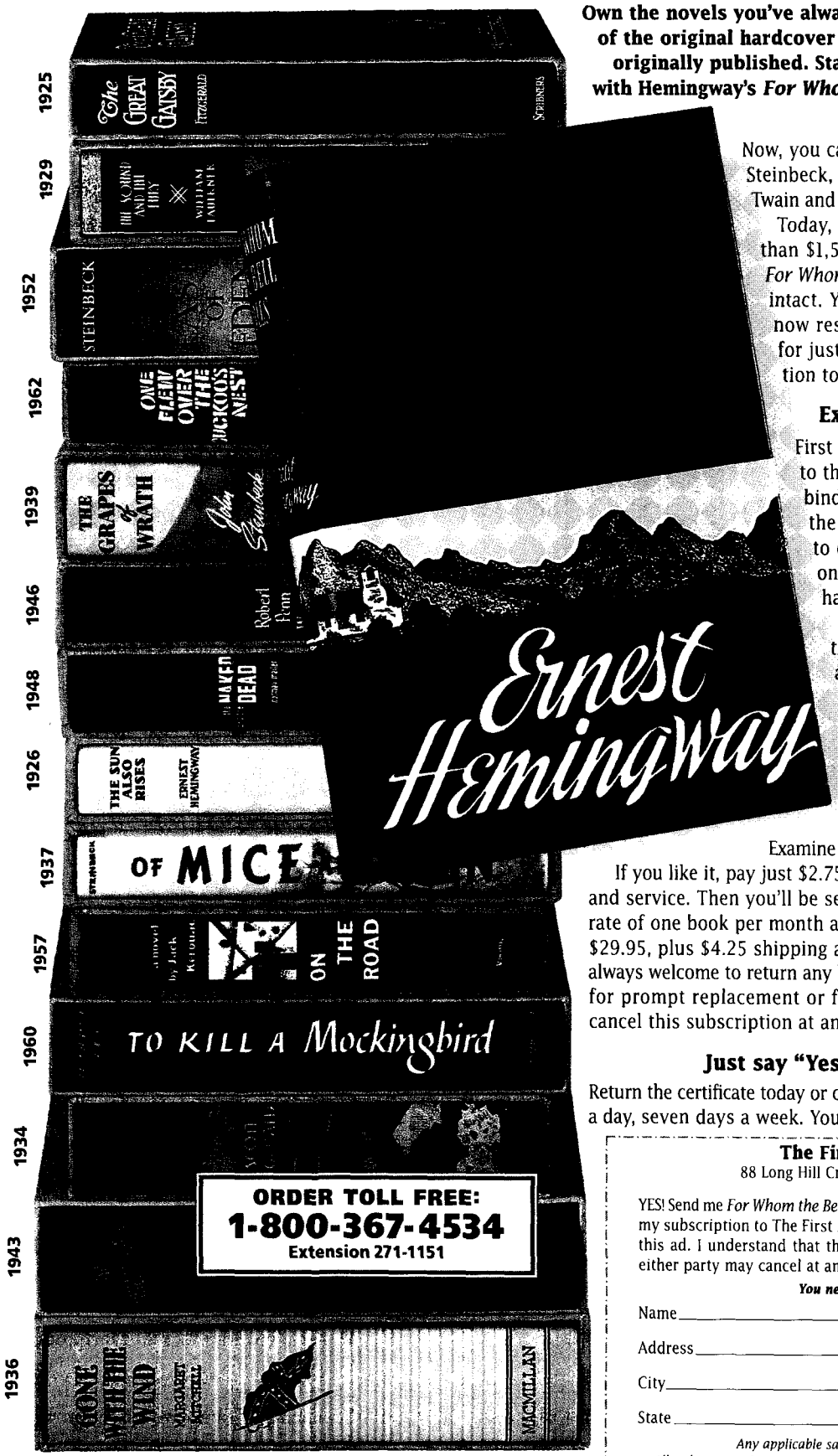

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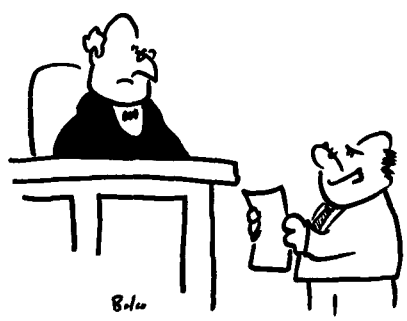
■ FOR THE RECORD ■

■ In *Newsweek* poll, 55 percent give President **Bush** approval. . . . White House aide **Matthew Dowd** on poll numbers: "They are right where we thought they would be after a high point nearly 18 months ago." . . . Bush on space-shuttle disaster: "The *Columbia* is lost. There are no survivors. . . . The crew of the shuttle *Columbia* did not return safely to Earth, yet we can pray that all are safely home." . . . Bush in State of the Union draws more viewers than 7 of **Bill Clinton**'s 8 addresses. . . . From the speech: "We have the terrorists on the run. We're keeping them on the run. One by one, the terrorists are learning the meaning of American justice." . . . "Whatever the duration of this struggle, and whatever the difficulties, we will not permit the triumph of violence in the affairs of men—free people will set the course of history." . . . "The course of this nation does not depend upon the decisions of others." . . . "The dictator of Iraq is not disarming. To the contrary; he is deceiving." . . . "The liberty we prize is not America's gift to the world, it is God's gift to humanity." . . . Bush, in Michigan: "You don't contain **Saddam Hussein**. You don't hope that therapy will somehow change his evil mind." . . . Former New York City mayor **Rudy Giuliani** on Bush, to AP: "He has already earned himself a spot in the history books as a great president."

■ U.N. weapons inspector **Hans Blix**: "Iraq appears not to have come to a genuine acceptance, not even today, of the disarmament that was demanded of it." . . . Sen. **Lincoln D. Chafee** (R., R.I.) would let inspectors have more time: "Why not wait a year?" . . . Rep. **Charles Rangel** (D., N.Y.) in "response" to State of the Union issued hours before Bush's speech: "President Bush failed to demonstrate that there is an immediate threat from Iraq to us or our allies." . . . South Carolina governor **Mark Sanford** (R.) says he will deploy if his Air Force Reserve unit receives orders: "I will do just as anyone else in my unit and follow them." . . . In ABC News poll, 63 percent favor "having U.S. forces take military action against Iraq to force Saddam Hussein from power" and 55 percent support "U.S. invasion of Iraq with ground troops."

■ Former **Gore** operative Donna Brazile on campaign of Sen. **John Kerry** (D., Mass.), in *New Republic*: "They have the Gore staff of 2004." . . . Sen. **Bob Graham** (D., Fla.) cancels Feb. 3 plan to announce for White House, schedules heart surgery, and promises presidential decision soon: "I think the stars have aligned for Bob Graham." . . . Fundraising letter for Sen. **John Edwards** (D., N.C.), quoted in *Wall Street Journal*: "His campaign for the presidency will do more for advancing the image of trial lawyers and the



"Yes, Your Honor, but my client wasn't under oath when he took the oath."

preservation of the civil justice system than any national public relations campaign that could ever be organized." . . . Talk-show host **Jerry Springer** on running for Senate, on CNN: "The Democratic party of Ohio is being very receptive." . . . Washington governor **Gary Locke** (D.) delivers response to State of the Union, after Mississippi governor **Ronnie Musgrove** (D.) refuses opportunity. . . . In *Cook Political Report* poll, 40 percent say they would re-elect Bush, 32 percent say they would "definitely" vote for someone else, and 25 percent say they would "consider" another candidate. . . . In Zogby poll, Bush defeats all potential challengers by at least 18 points.

■ Sen. **Zell Miller** (D., Ga.): "I'm going to support each and every tax cut that comes before the Senate. Like with my grandchildren, I love them all." . . . Maryland Republicans hope Prince George's County executive **Wayne Curry** (D.) will switch parties and challenge Sen. **Barbara Mikulski** (D.) . . . . **Michael Reagan**, son of former president, mulls Senate bid in California, reports UPI. . . . Colorado Gov. **Bill Owens** (R.) on mandated car insurance: "Consumers have been required to pay for hot tubs, treadmills, weight loss programs, and aromatherapy. Auto policies should provide a path to repairing injuries, not a gift certificate to a fancy spa." . . . Department of Interior offers $400,000 to purchase Ronald Reagan's boyhood home in Dixon, Ill., and turn into National Historic Site, but foundation owning property says it's worth up to $3 million. . . . Manhattan Institute celebrates 25th anniversary. . . . NR accepting applications for a summer internship. Interested college students should send résumés to Internship, NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, NY 10016.

■ Former South African president **Nelson Mandela**: "If there is a country that has committed unspeakable atrocities in the world, it is the United States of America. . . . One power with a president who has no foresight, who cannot think properly is now wanting to plunge the world into a holocaust." . . . Italian prime minister **Silvio Berlusconi**: "We will never forget that we owe our freedom [and] our wealth to the United States of America. And our democracy. And we also will never forget there have been many American young lives that were lost and sacrificed . . . for us. So for us, the United States is not only our friend, but the guarantor of our democracy and our freedom. . . . Every time I see the U.S. flag, I don't see the flag only representative of a country, but I see it as a symbol of democracy and of freedom."

■ Peruvian intellectual **Hernando de Soto** explains why his two dogs are named **Marx** and **Engels**, in *The Economist*: "They are German, hairy, and have no respect for property." **NR**

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THE WEEK

■ Secretary of State Powell left something out that might even win over the Left. In meetings with Iraqi children, cigar-loving Saddam routinely exposes them to a weapon of mass destruction—second-hand smoke.

■ Late January and early February saw a shift in domestic and international opinion toward President Bush's Iraq policy. In his exhaustive presentation before the U.N. on Feb. 5, Powell made an irrefutable case that Saddam Hussein has been defying the U.N. by hiding prohibited weapons systems and otherwise working to thwart inspections. Powell also revealed a terrorist cell in Baghdad that has been operating under the leadership of Abu Musab Zarqawi. And he exploded the limp conventional wisdom that the secular Saddam couldn't possibly cooperate with bin Laden's Islamic radicals. (Their hatred of the West unites them.) The secretary of state was following up on a forceful argument for confronting Saddam by Bush himself in his State of the Union address, and a damning report to the U.N. by Hans Blix. The head inspector has done what he can to avert war, but he nevertheless presented evidence that strengthened the case for it. Meanwhile, eight European leaders published a letter in the *Wall Street Journal* declaring that they stand with Bush against the Iraqi regime and urging the U.N. Security Council to "face up to its responsibilities." Suddenly it was France and Germany that were looking isolated. Polls show that support for war with Iraq has crept upward in the U.S. Most Americans support it even in the absence of a U.N. sign-off—and even if the war will last long and casualties will be high. The president would be obligated to defang Iraq even if the polls went the other way, of course. But as Bush's critics have long said, it's good to have allies.

■ Our allies and the public have become more supportive of a war to change the Iraqi regime; the Democrats just seem to get more confused. A few support the war: Joe Lieberman, Dick Gephardt, Evan Bayh. Some are forthright opponents. These include presidential candidate Howard Dean and former president Jimmy Carter, who passes for an elder statesman among the Democrats. (Carter blames Bush for the "vituperative attacks on U.S. policy by famous and respected men" such as Nelson Mandela and John Le Carré. Not to mention singer Sheryl Crow.) Other Democrats are trying to support and oppose war at the same time. Tom Daschle voted to authorize war last fall, but now says that the burden of proof is on the president to show that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction—a position well to the left of the latest U.N. resolution. John Kerry insists that the president does not have a blank check to make war, although he, along with Daschle and a majority of Congress, voted to give him precisely that. Kerry says that while his support for a war is "not contingent" on Security Council authorization, "it would be better" to have it. That's not an unreasonable position; it is in fact the Bush administration's position. But Kerry imagines, or wants to pretend, that taking it establishes him as a critic of the warmongers in the White House. When all else fails, Democrats change the subject to attack Bush from the right. In his response to the State of the Union address, Washington governor Gary Locke said that while the administration busies itself with Iraq, "Osama bin Laden is still at large." All the Democrats say that the president needs to "make the case" more forcefully before he acts. What case would be sufficient is never spelled out; and the more Bush makes the case the higher the bar seems to get. All the Democrats plead for more time, more talk, more allies, more consultation. They know that once war starts, the party's divisions will only grow.

■ Here's your challenge: Say you're a member of the Senate, perhaps a liberal Democrat from New York whose name is not Clinton. You have a place on the Judiciary Committee and take a great interest in judicial nominations. And you really, really, really don't want to see Miguel Estrada—the White House's extraordinarily bright and able nominee to a place on the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals—win confirmation. Yet you have no evidence of any wrongdoing, improprieties, or legal missteps to use against him. What do you do? If you're Sen. Charles Schumer, you argue that Estrada is unqualified not because of anything he has done but because you, Charles Schumer, don't know enough about him. You argue that Estrada is a "stealth candidate" and that there are too many unanswered questions about him to risk confirmation. You then toss in a couple of objections—they're not meaningful enough to be called allegations—that one of Estrada's former bosses called him a conservative ideologue (even though that boss gave Estrada glowing performance evaluations when the two worked together), or that Estrada defended an anti-loitering law that some civil-rights groups didn't like. Put it all together and you've got . . . nothing. But that hasn't stopped Sen. Schumer from trying to derail the Estrada nomination. We can only hope that the full Senate, with a quick confirmation vote, will.

■ Whatever else the Republican sweep in November represented, it was, alas, no mandate for smaller government. The president's new budget reflects that fact. Under the Bush plan, federal spending will increase at more than twice the rate of inflation next year. That's not because of wartime demands on the budget: Education spending is getting a larger percentage boost than defense. Reducing the size and scope of the federal government must remain a central goal of conservatives, even if it looks like a depressingly far-off one.

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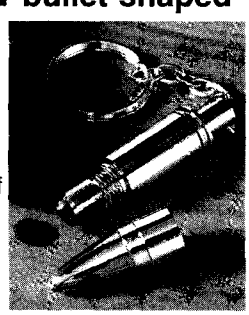

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■ Bush's State of the Union speech included a commitment to spend $1.2 billion on research into the development of automobiles fueled by hydrogen gas. "A simple chemical reaction between hydrogen and oxygen generates energy, which can be used to power a car producing only water, not exhaust fumes," stated Bush. Quite true. Put hydrogen together with oxygen and you get water plus an output of energy. But wait: Where is the hydrogen to come from? There is essentially none of it in raw form closer to us than the surface of the sun, where it is unfortunately at several thousand degrees Fahrenheit. You could, of course, extract hydrogen from water by electrolysis; but that (just run the previous formula backwards) requires an *input* of energy—energy that would have to come from power stations. Alternatively, you could separate out hydrogen from the hydrocarbons in fossil fuels. That, unfortunately, would leave behind carbon dioxide—a greenhouse gas. Hmm. A sum of $1.2 billion is probably not enough to repeal the laws of physics. Of more interest to the administration, we guess, is whether it is enough to dull the edge of criticism from environmentalist lobbies.

■ On the anniversary of *Roe* v. *Wade*, the Democratic presidential candidates trooped over to a banquet celebrating abortion. Some people may regard abortion as a tragic necessity. At the NARAL Pro-Choice America event, abortion was progress; it was equality; it was liberation. There was a slightly hysterical tone to the proceedings. Political organizations need to keep their donors in a constant state of alarm. The abortion lobby generally insists that *Roe* is about to be overturned and women will be forced into back alleys. Kate Michelman, the head of the group, did not disappoint at the dinner, declaring once again that the Supreme Court is one vote away from overturning *Roe*. (We wish. In fact, six of the nine justices on the Court are on record supporting *Roe*. The Court is one vote away only from letting states ban partial-birth abortion.) She even raised the stakes: After *Roe* goes, she said, "a woman's right to contraception could be the next right lost." Howard Dean went even further, saying that women wouldn't be allowed to go to school in this grim future. Dean also made a defense of partial-birth abortion and an attack on parental-notification laws. Dick Gephardt was the most conservative of the candidates: He did not pledge his support for partial-birth abortion, but was merely silent on the issue. (He's voted to ban it in the past.) He confessed to having been a pro-lifer in the past, but begged forgiveness on the ground that he was raised as a Baptist and therefore could not have been expected to know any better. On abortion, both sound moral judgment and even normal sensibilities are now a disqualification for office in the Democratic party.

■ Ever since he came to Washington, conservatives have worried that White House counsel Alberto Gonzales would be this administration's David Souter. They have worried, that is, that Bush would nominate Gonzales to the Supreme Court and that the new justice would then turn out to be a liberal. Gonzales's record on the high court of Texas does not provide many clues about his judicial philosophy (although pro-lifers have called attention to a confusing series of cases in which he voted to weaken a parental-notification law). But the wondering can now end. During the administration's internal debates over what to say to the Supreme Court about racial preferences, Gonzales led the pro-"diversity" brigades. Solicitor general Ted Olson wanted to submit a brief denying that discrimination in the cause of diversity is constitutionally permissible. Gonzales overruled him, and the resulting briefs were a muddle. So Gonzales is no Souter. When Souter was nominated, we didn't know anything about his views. We do know something about Gonzales's views, and what we know is not encouraging.

■ The evidence that welfare reform has been a success continues to roll in. A University of Michigan study finds that work incentives have reduced child poverty. The largest income gains for poor households with children were in states with the toughest work policies. A small percentage of children are worse off—but they tend to be in the states that have gone easy on work. As it considers re-authorizing the welfare laws, Congress should build on its recent accomplishments.

■ All conservatives can easily appreciate what a loss the retirements of Sens. Phil Gramm and Jesse Helms are, but only those who toil within the Beltway can know what a loss the departure of Dave Hoppe from Capitol Hill is. His 27 years of dedication to the causes he cherished included serving as chief of staff to Jack Kemp and Trent Lott in the House, and most recently to Majority Leader Lott in the Senate. He was always a crusader for limited government, a pro-life stalwart, and a committed supply-sider. But a full accounting of Dave's indispensable influence is impossible because he tirelessly worked in thankless anonymity to see that good things happened and bad things were stopped. We wish him well in his future endeavors.

■ New Jersey legislators are considering a bill to ban cloning. Or rather, they're considering a bill that's supposedly designed to ban cloning. Actually, the bill would allow for the development of a clone up to and past birth, so long as scientists do not plan on someone's raising the child they've created. The human-harvesting legislation, supported by Democratic governor Jim McGreevey, has passed through one-half of the statehouse already and is soon to be voted on by the other chamber. During his State of the Union address, President Bush asked Congress "to set a high standard for humanity and pass a law against all human cloning." New Jersey should do its part by rejecting this bill.

■ State governments around the country are in deep fiscal doo-doo—this we all know. Having used the gushing tax revenues of the dot-com boom years to erect expensive new programs and hire battalions of new employees, they find that in the present lean times they are faced with the inevitable choice: cut spending or raise taxes. The preference of those in power, egged on by public-employee unions and other

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A Better Way to Protect Endangered Species

Laura E. Huggins is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution.

The fate of many endangered species is in the hands of private property owners. By maintaining habitat for rare species, landholders are providing a public service, and the best way to encourage landholders to protect these species is to ensure that they are compensated rather than penalized for this service.

The Endangered Species Act (ESA), passed by Congress and signed by President Nixon in 1973, established lists of endangered and threatened species and prohibited the killing or harming of them and their habitat.

Measured by any reasonable standard, the ESA has failed. In the past three decades many more species have been added to the list than have been removed. Even if we count all of the species removed from the list as "successes," they account for only 3.5 percent of the species recorded since 1973. According to the General Accounting Office, most species are closer to extinction now than when they were originally listed.

The first step toward reforming the ESA should be to moderate the damage that the current act inflicts on private landowners. Nearly 80 percent of listed species depend on private land for all or part of their habitat requirements. Yet if landholders provide suitable habitat for an endangered species, they run the risk of their property being subject to severe government regulations, many of which constrain land from being used profitably. An unintended consequence of the ESA is that it effectively creates perverse incentives for landowners to destroy species and their habitat—the "shoot, shovel, and shut up" syndrome.

Some environmental leaders recognize the problem. Michael Bean, an Environmental Defense Fund attorney who is often credited with authorship of the ESA, acknowledged that there is "increasing evidence that at least some private landowners are actively managing their land so as to avoid potential endangered species problems." He emphasized that these actions are "not the result of malice toward the environment" but "fairly rational decisions, motivated by a desire to avoid potentially significant economic constraints."

Cases of preemptive habitat destruction have become notorious. For instance, as the golden-cheeked warbler was about to be added to the endangered species list, a firm that owned hundreds of acres of warbler habitat hired workers to chainsaw the entire stand of oak and juniper trees, thus preserving its investment by eliminating the birds' habitat.

For wildlife conservation to be successful, negative restrictions on landowners must be replaced with positive incentives, such as those in Texas's Landowner Incentive Program. Under the tenets of this state-initiated program, landholders voluntarily enter into a contract to perform measurable actions (such as restoring native vegetation or performing controlled burns) with the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department. Biologists are allowed on the property to monitor progress, and landowners are paid on the basis of meeting the contract's objectives. Grants of up to $10,000 are available to property owners who actively manage their land for rare species.

As Aldo Leopold explained nearly seventy years ago, "conservation will ultimately boil down to rewarding the private landowner who conserves the public interest." For more on the importance of protecting private property rights, see *Property Rights: A Practical Guide to Freedom and Prosperity* (Hoover Press 2003).

— Laura E. Huggins

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client groups, is of course for raising taxes. In the state of Oregon, this sometimes requires voter approval, and a tax-raising measure was duly put before the voters. Along with the measure came a sophisticated scare campaign by those client groups, aiming to convince Oregonians that unless they voted the tax increase, state nursing homes would be closed, cops would be laid off, and so on. *You will dial 911 and no one will come! Your grandmother will be thrown out in the snow!* You know the sort of thing. Well, to their great credit, the good people of Oregon resisted these dire warnings and voted the measure down, 54–46. The state will now have to cut spending. Said one voter interviewed by the Associated Press: "I'm a normal person and when I don't have enough money I have to change my habits."

■ Ed Rosenthal, a 58-year-old Californian, faces a minimum of five years in prison after being convicted in federal court of growing hundreds of marijuana plants. A long-time pot activist, Rosenthal grew the pot to supply users of medical marijuana under California's Proposition 215, passed in 1996, which allows the practice. Federal law prohibits marijuana cultivation, however, even for medical purposes. Rosenthal was not allowed to cite Proposition 215 in his own defense. It makes sense that federal law should trump state law. What do not make sense are our draconian drug laws, especially those that prohibit patients and doctors from turning to marijuana as a relief for the symptoms of terrible diseases or equally terrible cures.

■ It has just dawned on the people of New York City that the smoking ban enacted by Mayor Michael Bloomberg, which covers any place to which the public has access, may apply to the city's prisons. Reactions have been mixed. The president of the corrections officers' union said he didn't think the new law applied to jails because: "I do not believe a city jail is a place where the public has access. There are restrictions to people going in and out of jails." Well, yes. The corrections commissioner himself predicted that prisoners unable to relieve the stress of incarceration by smoking would make trouble for his staff, and asked for $120 million to deal with the problem. The city's legal and financial watchdogs approve, since the ban will reduce prisoner lawsuits on account of "secondhand smoke." We don't much care, beyond a mild regret that yet another traditional feature of American life, the jailhouse tobacco baron, seems to be headed for extinction.

■ For the second time in a decade, the Supreme Court of South Carolina has upheld the conviction of a woman for causing the death of her unborn child. Pro-lifers have but limited cause to cheer: The only reason that the court was able to uphold the conviction is that the mother caused the death by using cocaine, an activity that was already illegal. Nevertheless, the case does illustrate the paradoxes of the post-*Roe* legal regime: It may be criminal to kill a fetus by smoking crack, but one has a constitutional right to do so by using, say, a pair of forceps. If pro-lifers and pro-choicers can agree on anything, it is that this is a distinction without a difference. For 200-proof pro-choicers, a pregnant woman who smokes crack is no more culpable than any other crack user; for pro-lifers, killing a fetus in a doctor's office is no more acceptable than killing it with drugs. As long as Americans remain ambivalent on the question of abortion, however, these moral inconsistencies will prevail.

■ Eight European leaders (from Spain, Portugal, Italy, Britain, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Denmark) declared, in a statement published in the *Wall Street Journal*, that the "trans-Atlantic bond" with America was the "guarantee of our freedom," and that Iraq was a "threat to world security." The signers represent 232 million people. France's Jacques Chirac and Germany's Gerhard Schroeder, against whom the statement was clearly directed, represent 143 million. The real breakdown of European opinion is still more complex: Recent elections in the German states of Hesse and Lower Saxony (Schroeder's home turf) punished the ruling Social Democrats. Angela Merkel, leader of the Christian Democrats, called the votes "an important signal to the European allies and to the American government." The Iron Eight have taken anti-American flak in their home countries, of course. But the larger point remains: Much of Europe stands with us, as it did during the wars of the last century.

■ English anti-Americanism is an old phenomenon (they did make us revolt, after all), and the showdown with Iraq has made it flower. The literati are in spasms—Harold Pinter flailing our "hysteria, ignorance, arrogance, stupidity and belligerence," while John Le Carré simply accuses us of "madness." The hard Left sees anti-Americanism, anti-globalism, and anti-Semitism as a winning platform. Against this lurid backdrop stands Tony Blair. He calls the United States "a force for good in the world," and anti-Americanism "a foolish indulgence." He went into Afghanistan with us, and is ready to take on the far harder challenge of Iraq. We wouldn't want him to be president: Crime is skyhigh, he wants Britain to

Colin Powell Evolves

From dove to irritable hawk
Can best be measured by the squawk—
Though plumage is a marker, too:
But judging from a Davos "Coo,"
More masculine . . . more baritone
(It's better near a microphone),
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—W. H. von Dreele

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submerge itself in Europe, and his policies on immigration and multiculturalism have bred a jihadist fifth column. But as an ally, he's the man. We will stand a tip-toe when this day is named.

■ Nelson Mandela, former president of South Africa and emeritus saint, let the United States have it. He called Bush a man "who cannot think properly," who "want[s] to plunge the world into a holocaust." He also took a swipe at America's "friend Israel," and wondered if America was willing to go it alone because Kofi Annan, the secretary general of the United Nations, is a black man. Nelson Mandela is a pop icon, like Mother Teresa or Princess Di. That is because he was a long-suffering black man; it is also because, in victory, he behaved with unlooked-for grace. His allies on the way up, however, were mainly of the totalitarian Left: the South African Communist party; the Soviet bloc; Libya and the PLO. He has never regretted those associations, or entirely shed their world-view. Let the great man go to Kabul (or, three months from now, Baghdad), and see what people think of America.

■ France, guardian of national sovereignty and international diplomacy, sent 2,500 troops to the Ivory Coast to impose a settlement to a four-month-old civil war. Great-power diplomacy, it seems, isn't bad, so long as it is wielded by the appropriate great power. Has France done enough wielding? Supporters of the national government, who feel shortchanged by the deal, have taken to the streets of Abidjan, defacing the French embassy with graffiti and rallying around the American embassy, where they sing The Star-Spangled Banner and chant "USA! USA!" "We are tired of the French people," one Ivorian told the *New York Times*. "We want Bush involved in our case." Time to call in the Security Council, *n'est-ce pas?*

■ Israeli voters awarded Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and his Likud party 38 seats, while giving Labor, Israel's historic major party of the Left, only 19. The result was not exactly a sweep for Likud: Other parties, to the right of Likud or the left of Labor or somewhere in between, hold the remaining 63 seats in the Israeli parliament. Sharon must decide whether to form a coalition that includes Shas, a party of ultra-orthodox Jews, or Shinui, a new secularist party that wants the state to cut its religious subsidies. Sharon has the choice because most Israelis think he is a tough guy, and that toughness is needed in the maelstrom of terror that Israelis have been enduring for months. Ultimately, the shape of Israeli–Palestinian relations, and of the Middle East, will depend less on Israeli voters or Arab tyrants than on what the United States does in Iraq.

■ A good chunk of the world insists that Yasser Arafat has nothing to do with the "suicide bombers," except to oppose them. They are simply out of his control. But consider this. A year ago, a suicide bomber named Abdel Baset Odeh murdered 29 people and injured dozens of others in the infamous Passover Massacre at Netanya. Now the Palestinian Authority—Yasser Arafat's own regime—has honored the terrorist by naming a soccer tournament after him. His brother will distribute trophies. The individual teams, too, have been named after suicide bombers. But let no one think that the good Chairman and Nobel Peace Laureate countenances any terroristic activity.

■ It's official: Muammar Qaddafi's Libya has been appointed to the chair of the U.N. Human Rights Commission. This was the work of the U.N.'s African bloc, which controls appointments to the commission this year under a rule that rotates this power geographically. In related news, Iraq will be chairing the U.N. disarmament conference in Geneva for several weeks this spring, as a result of a mysterious decision by Iran to step down. (This one rotates alphabetically.) You can laugh freely at that without any apprehensions—the disarmament conference, after 20 years of deliberation, has yet to agree on a program of work. The U.N. is ever the U.N. Leaving his post at that organization in 1976, Daniel Patrick Moynihan offered no less than three metaphors for the place: "a theater of the absurd, a decomposing corpse, and an insane asylum." Twenty-six years later, the play goes on, the corpse stinks worse than ever, and the lunatics are still firmly in charge of the asylum.

■ A radio station in Miami ran a vile parody song defaming Condi Rice. It began, "Condoleezza, Condoleezza, what you be doin'? That neo-fascist black-haired token schwarze dog. Is you there 'cause you a high-toned public Negro? Is you their black-haired answer-mammy who be smart?" Etc., etc. The Florida branch of the NAACP was asked to intervene and request an apology from the radio station—but it refused. Eventually, the station stopped airing the song and apologized anyway. The story made not a ripple in the national press. (Imagine a similar outrage committed against, say, Donna Brazile.) But we are reminded that there is *nothing* so vile that it cannot be said with relative impunity against a Republican. And to be a black Republican, of course, is to betray.

■ The conventional conservative wisdom on attention-deficit disorder and Ritalin is that the former is merely boisterous boyhood, redefined as pathology, and that the latter is a drug taking the place of discipline. Writing in *The New Republic*, Michael Fumento makes a strong argument that the conservative conventional wisdom needs to be revised. It's true, he notes, that the disorder cannot be identified in a lab as definitively as polio can be. But that's true of Alzheimer's disease, too, and nobody doubts that it is real. As for Ritalin, it doesn't make children with the disorder into zombies; it "simply turns [them] into normal children." Fumento cites studies that show that behavioral treatments, such as greater discipline, don't work as well. Fumento glides a little too quickly past the point that the disorder may be overdiagnosed, and Ritalin overprescribed, in some places (while making the point that the reverse is true in other places). But conservatives ought to take Fumento's case seriously, lest ideology lead them to views that are false to reality.

■ Two years ago, Jane Fonda pledged $12.5 million to Harvard's Graduate School of Education to establish a cen-

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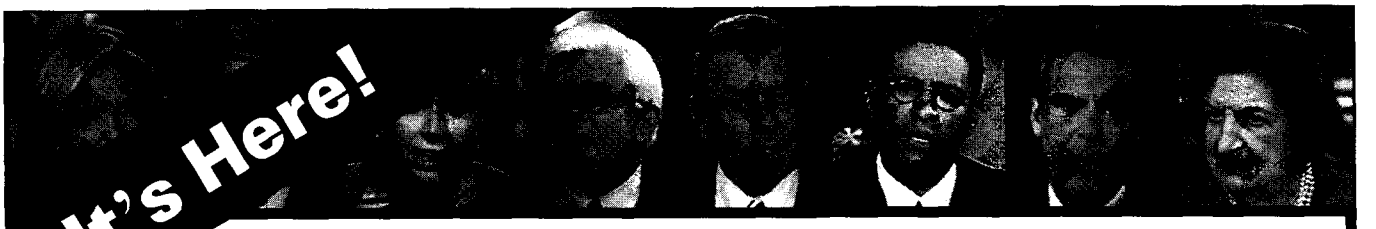

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ter to promote the anti-male ideas of feminist den mother Carol Gilligan, then a Harvard professor of "gender studies." Fonda's gift was meant to be a "thank you" to the professor for helping her to realize the baneful effects of gender-role stereotypes. Gilligan has since moved to New York University and now it looks like Harvard is ready to move on, too. Harvard is scaling back the center plans, ditching the Gilligan endowed chair Fonda wanted established, and giving Fonda much of her money back. Gilligan's debunkers—most especially Christina Hoff Sommers, author of *The War Against Boys*—should take satisfaction in their likely influence on the decision, though no one will admit that is the reason for the Fonda rebate (Harvard is officially blaming the stock market and new university rules). Larry Summers, the president of Harvard, should be encouraged in his gradual housecleaning efforts.

■ At Fairway Middle School in Norwich, England, students are now required to secure the permission of their intended victim before throwing a snowball; any student launching a surprise attack will be subject to disciplinary measures. One National Union of Teachers official deemed the move "sensible" in this litigious age. You may be wondering what could come next: Will teachers have to get permission before they can flunk a student? Well, you're close. To spare the fragile egos of their charges, teachers at Uplands Manor Primary School in England have been ordered to begin using green, rather than red, ink to grade papers. "The red pen has negative connotations," explained one administrator, "and can be seen as a negative approach to improving pupils' work."

■ Many poets have good manners. Many, especially lesser ones, have more ego than talent. As Lionel Trilling once said, they are a nest of stinging, not singing, birds. First Lady Laura Bush, with great goodwill, sought to have a civilized discussion of poetry at the White House on February 12. By some glitch, an invitation went out to the unknown yahoo poet Sam Hamill, who took the invitation as an opportunity to stage an antiwar protest, rounding up other would-be protesters by e-mail. The planned discussion was to be about poetry, not politics. Of course it was postponed. A great many non-yahoo poets are around, and could be recommended.

■ Leslie Fiedler was admired by many as a "provocative" critic. Some others did not experience great difficulty in restraining their admiration. Sometimes leaving the actual text of a literary work far behind, he practiced what he called the "mythic method." This had nothing to do with the folks on Olympus but rather involved the discerning of hidden and deeper meanings in familiar works. Thus, he came to fairly wide attention with his 1948 essay (*Partisan Review*) entitled "Come Back to the Raft Ag'in, Huck Honey." Fiedler's leering title indicated his shtick. In his most celebrated work, *Love and Death in the American Novel* (1960), Fiedler, with the help of Freud, Charles Reich, and D. H. Lawrence, discerned all sorts of things, including, not remarkably, the association of love with death. In the spirit of the 1960s, he once taught a course about and to freaks at the University of Buffalo. Mr. Outside, he liked to *épater* the bourgeois, which took vast courage in the 1960s academy. Very intelligent, sometimes amusing, always a wiseass, he is dead at 85. R.I.P.

■ A flicker of Americana, a fading photograph by Mathew Brady, the eternal wonder of romance. John Janeway, a 19-year-old farm boy from Grainge County, Tenn., was out riding his horse. It was 1864. He ran into a squadron of Union soldiers. He sent his horse home and joined the Army. He was captured, released, and rejoined his outfit, the 14th Illinois Cavalry. After the war, he lived for many years in California, then returned to Tennessee, where he met Gertrude, aged 16. He married her when she turned 18. He himself was . . . 81. She considered him the love of her life. He bought her a log cabin in 1932, and died there in 1937, at age 91. She has just died in that same cabin at age 93, the last widow of a Union soldier. The last living link with the profoundest American war is now Alberta Martin, 95, the remaining Confederate widow. She resides in Elba, Alabama.

TAXES

The Bush Revolution

THE *Washington Post* says that President Bush's new tax proposals are "audacious" and "radical," and that Bush has "picked up the fallen standard of the Reagan Revolution." One almost gets the sense that the *Post* thinks these are bad things.

Obviously, we disagree. When Bush suggested ending taxes on dividend income and bringing tax rates down this year, we called his plan the most pro-growth proposal since 1981. Since then, Bush's tax policy has gotten even better. His Treasury Department is now proposing that people be allowed to save up to $15,000 a year without tax penalties. This would be a major step toward ending the tax code's bias against saving and investment—a major step, that is, toward tax reform. It is also a major step toward Social Security reform, since it would expand the potential constituency for it.

Under the plan, individuals could put up to $7,500 a year in a retirement account and up to $7,500 in a "lifetime savings account." They would not get a deduction for that saving, but they would not have to pay taxes when the money is withdrawn. The funds in the retirement account would be available when the saver turns 58. Withdrawals from the lifetime savings account, however, could be made at any time, for any purpose. Both these accounts would replace 401(k)s, IRAs, and the like. The *Post* considers these accounts to be "tax breaks." But for most people, the effect would be to exempt all of their savings from double taxation. (In certain cases, saving wouldn't be taxed even once. That really would be a tax break, and the plan should be modified so that all income is taxed once.)

The *Post* also worries that the lifetime savings account "could be raided at will, leaving [workers] without a cushion

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later." It's true. A family would have to decide whether to "raid" a savings account to pay for the children's college tuition, or to leave it in there for retirement and health-care needs. This is called freedom.

Kent Conrad, the ranking Democrat on the Senate Budget Committee, worries that the savings accounts will swell the deficit in decades to come. "It's breathtaking," he says. "These guys [in the administration] really don't care about the future at all." Conrad seems to assume that federal revenues are the only important thing about the future. President Bush wants a future in which more Americans can meet their own needs with their own savings, rather than having to rely on the federal government.

The deficit-phobes at the Concord Coalition are also critics. "Deficits merely shift the tax burden toward the future," according to the group. But there's no one-for-one trade-off between tax cuts today and higher taxes tomorrow. Tax cuts can create wealth, and can lead the federal government to restrain its spending. Both effects would reduce the amount of taxes that would be necessary in the future to pay for today's tax cuts. Deficits may raise interest rates somewhat, but Bush's tax cuts would lower the cost of capital by more than enough to compensate for this problem.

Indeed, if we had a quibble with Bush's plan, it would be that it shows too *much* concern for near-term deficits. We would prefer that contributions to the savings accounts be deductible, and the withdrawals taxed. That might induce more people to save. It would also mean that the taxes would fall on senior citizens rather than young people starting their families. The former group is better organized to defend its political interests, and thus to restrain taxation. But an up-front deduction would cause federal revenues to drop in this decade, rather than the future. We assume that's why the administration decided to make withdrawals tax-free.

The most damaging economic criticism of President Bush's tax plans has been that they do not provide immediate stimulus; they don't "put money in people's pockets" right away. That's not true. As soon as Bush's tax cuts are enacted, less money will be withheld from every paycheck. More important is that as soon as Bush's tax cuts are enacted, people will have greater incentives to work, save, and invest. They can't be enacted soon enough.

THE *COLUMBIA*

After Mourning

We mourn the seven men and women who died on the space shuttle *Columbia*; we are awed by the fragility of human life when we venture beyond our natural earthly bounds; we are awed by death, which comes to us all.

But if the reaction to this disaster is somewhat different from the woe that greeted the explosion of the *Challenger* in 1986, that is because of the impact, between the two, of 9/11. The bar of national trauma has been raised. Perhaps the very concept of nameless bottomless grief is no longer relevant. We are not in a piping time of peace; disasters are part of daily life. When skilled professionals undertake a risky mission and pay the highest price, we honor them, and move on.

Should we move on to more shuttle missions? As Gregg Easterbrook and others have observed, the shuttles are primitive vehicles, using late-'70s/early-'80s technology. The half-billion-dollar price tag of each flight keeps the contractors that supply the ships happy; the ongoing program keeps NASA happy. But many of the allegedly valuable experiments can now be performed, in miniaturized form, on earth. The shuttles exist to service the Space Station, and the Space Station exists as a destination for the shuttles. NASA should be forced to think more creatively. The moon and Mars should be our goals, not an orbiting commuter stop.

We need a space program for the purposes of defense. The 21st century is not only the century of terrorism; it will also be the century of nuclear proliferation and Star Wars, the ultimate shield against proliferation. But we need a space program, even more importantly, for moral reasons. We should explore space to prove our excellence—to solve problems, and to show our bravery. We should also explore it to prove our smallness—to see, from ever new vantages, the beauty of Creation, and to experience, however much we learn, its mystery. The space program should take on those challenges, not by rerunning old scenarios, but by efficiently developing new ones.

AIDS IN AFRICA

Mission Control

President Bush's new $15 billion AIDS-fighting initiative for Africa will triple U.S. spending on the crisis. It is a "work of mercy," says Bush—a mission—one undertaken by a "blessed country" that recognizes its moral responsibility to help the wretched of the earth. It's no surprise that Bush speaks of the plan in the language of religious mission. He himself is a believer, and his decision to commit massive resources to the African catastrophe reportedly was influenced by his meeting with evangelical Christian leaders.

We applaud the president's tender heart for suffering Africans, but we hope he keeps a hard, clear head as the program is implemented—and that he stays in close touch with those evangelicals. As our Rod Dreher reported in NR's last issue, experts have had solid evidence for at least a decade that the only effective way to arrest the HIV infection rate in Africa is with an education program emphasizing abstinence and fidelity, with condoms as a safety net should the first two strategies fail. Uganda, almost alone among African nations, tried this approach, working closely with religious groups preaching traditional morality. Most other African nations followed the condoms-only advice of Western experts. Result: HIV infection rates peaked in Uganda in the early 1990s, while the crisis in the rest of Africa raged out of control. Behavioral change is the only thing shown to have worked to bring down HIV infections in Africa.

Yet this is the strategy that the vast majority of the Western

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AIDS establishment—doctors, scientists, public-health bureaucrats, donor organizations, activists—resists with all its might, in large part because it sees this approach as "moralizing." If the president wishes to avoid throwing good money after bad, these experts must not be allowed to continue excluding proven behavior-change strategies from their AIDS-fighting arsenal. Fully half the budget of the new program will go to pay for anti-retroviral drug therapy for those already suffering from AIDS, which would reduce their infectiousness. This is needed, as are the monies set aside for other medical interventions. (We trust, however, that the administration will work to make sure that any legislation precludes the possibility that AIDS funding will be diverted to the promotion of abortion. The goal of the initiative is after all to save lives, not end them.) But what's most important is that funds be spent on behavior-change programs that stigmatize promiscuity and extramarital sex, and inculcate a sense of personal responsibility.

Bush surely knows this, but aside from general references to Uganda's example, he has not dwelled on it in public, probably for domestic political reasons. Nevertheless, this reality must be faced squarely and forthrightly, to prevent the $15 billion program from becoming a boondoggle for the international AIDS industry and corrupt African governments, and, above all, to save lives.

■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Dear Bill: I know you are going to be surprised to get a letter from me. I am not asking you for money or a free subscription to NATIONAL REVIEW, which I can pick up for free at LaGuardia Airport when taking the shuttle.

Bear with me. I received a letter offering me a free trip anywhere on the *Sea Mariner,* which was going on a world cruise.

I said I wanted to go to Tahiti, and they said, "Bill Buckley has that leg tied up." A month later I got a call: "Do you still want to go to Tahiti?"

I said, "Did Buckley fink out on you?"

"Something like that. But since you have similar names, they will think Buckley was you, and vice versa."

So I took the offer, and they sent me the brochure for the suites, which cost anywhere from $175,000 to $90,000 for people on welfare.

It suddenly dawned on me that most or all of the passengers who could afford such a cruise would be conservative Republicans, and that is why you were the *Mariner*'s first choice.

Now my question is, if I am you then I have to pretend I am on the right. Or should I admit that I am flying under false colors and am really a bleeding-heart liberal?

If I don't give Trent Lott the benefit of the doubt and say that I don't want to go to war unilaterally with Iraq, will the irate voyagers throw me into the sea?

So I am writing to you for guidance. How do you think I should I play it?

Bob Novak said he would tutor me in right-wing language, but I told him you were my mentor.

Art Buchwald
Washington, D.C.

Dear Art: That's not easy to do. You have to get it just right, or the ship will veer off course and take you to the South Pole. We give quick courses at NATIONAL REVIEW, and you'll sound like Goldwater (1 hour), Reagan (2 hours), or Milton Friedman (3 hours). Remember to have the latest copy of NATIONAL REVIEW in your pocket when you walk out of your suite. NR is buoyant, so if they toss you overboard, you will float. Have a great sail, and tell them to send the difficult questions to us.

Ever your obliging mentor,

Bill

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Will you please report to the International Criminal Court at The Hague.

You are to be charged with the following crimes against humanity: the purchase and consumption of red meat, possession of a firearm, heterosexual thoughts of a carnal nature, ownership of a 4 x 4, the possession and use of tobacco, politically incorrect speech, and other crimes to be determined by the court.

Have a nice day.

Basil Riverdale
Santa Fe, N.M.

Dear Mr. Riverdale: How can I possibly have a nice day with these charges looming?!

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Please settle this question concerning the correct Latin pronunciation: In the Apostles' Creed, should Pilate's name be pronounced "Pon-tee-us" or, as most Catholics say, "Pon-chaw-us"?

Dave Huskin
Englewood, Colo.

Dear Mr. Huskin: My ear (and training) tells me that a diphthong grew out of the spelling, whence "Pon-chuss." But I don't think you'd be arrested for pronouncing the alternative.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: A group of Marine Corps privates is having lunch. Pvt. Jones asks Pvt. Smith, "How much does he owe you?" The Master Sgt. enters the room, everyone leaps to attention, but Pvt. Smith belatedly answers, "Nothing." The Master Sgt. confronts Pvt. Walsh with "Did you say that?" Would a proper response be "Sir, I didn't say nothing, Sir"?

Peter W. Herrick
Ipswich, Mass.

Dear Mr. Herrick: No. It would be proper if he said, "Sir, I didn't say 'nothing,' Sir."

Cordially,

—WFB

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■ EUROPE ■

French Kiss-off

Lafayette, where are you?

PAUL JOHNSON

THE persistent, at times vicious, hostility displayed by France towards the United States in recent months requires some explanation. Part of the explanation is practical, materialistic, even sordid. Both France and her ally (for this purpose) Germany have past, present, and future plans to share Iraq's riches.

German ambitions go back to before the First World War, when the project of a Berlin-to-Baghdad railway was launched. Germany's defeat, along with that of her ally Turkey, put paid to that, and Germany played no part in the carve-up of Turkey's Arab empire in 1919. But Germany had another go in 1940–1, when she backed the Rashid Ali coup in Iraq against the British at the same time as she was cultivating the anti-British grand mufti of Jerusalem. Rashid was a precursor of Saddam Hussein, as the mufti was of Arafat. In the last 25 years, Germany has sold a great deal of high-tech equipment to Saddam, and one reason the Germans fear a U.S. occupation of Iraq is that it may disclose the degree to which German scientists and companies have secretly participated in Iraq's quest for weapons of mass destruction.

France has similar fears, for she was undoubtedly aiding Iraq's nuclear program until the surprise Israeli attack put paid to that for a time. France has long and bitter memories about the Middle East and the way in which "les Anglo-Saxons" (the U.S. and the U.K.) have frustrated her ambitions there. These go back to the British expulsion of the French from Egypt in 1798–9, and include the way in which the French believed they were swindled out of their hard-earned spoils at the end of the First World War. The secret Sykes-Picot agreement of 1915 gave France power over half the Turkish Arab empire, while Britain was to get the other half. As it happened, the French ended up with only Syria and the Lebanon, which had no oil, while President Wilson and Lloyd George ensured that Britain had power over Iraq and the Gulf states, such as Kuwait, and the U.S. became paramount in Saudi Arabia.

Corbis

A different kind of Frenchman: the Marquis de Lafayette

To add to French bitterness, the alliance between Vichy France and Nazi Germany (1940–44) left Britain, backed by the U.S., with no alternative but to expel France from Syria and the Lebanon too. Ever since, French policy has been to get a share in the oil by one means or another. I have no doubt that France would be backing the U.S. in Iraq today if President Bush had felt able to give President Chirac a cast-iron guarantee that French interests would be rewarded when the Saddam regime is overthrown. But this Bush has flatly refused, for both altruistic and practical reasons.

However, in addition to these material reasons, France has what might be called metaphysical purposes in blocking U.S. plans. France is a weak power on the world scene. Participation in the anti-Saddam expedition would have exposed this weakness. The French have so few serviceable aircraft that their air force would find it difficult to make even a nominal contribution to the air war. Their only powerful warship, the carrier *Charles de Gaulle*, has scarcely left harbor during its accident-prone existence, and would probably be unable to participate. The French army is currently changing from a conscript to an all-professional force, and is in some confusion. There is thus no chance of the French cutting a *bella figura* in any hostilities, and so the easy way out for her is to oppose them. Indeed, while France has been playing the great power and the U.N. threatens to use the veto against the U.S. in the Security Council, it has met with a diplomatic disaster in the African state of Ivory Coast, once the richest French colony. A French-arranged agreement between the local government and rebel forces, into which Chirac put all his influence and skills, was repudiated immediately once the Ivory Coast delegates returned home, covering Paris in ridicule and exposing French expatriates there to massacre. The expatriates complain that the French "peacekeeping" force of 2,500 is too small and ill trained to protect them. There is thus a huge and widening gap between France's global pretensions and her physical power to influence events on the ground.

Awareness of her weakness has led France to move closer to Germany and to the idea of a Europe dominated by two powers, with both France and Germany providing EU presidents. Of course, in the French view, Paris would be the senior partner in the axis with Berlin, on the lines of De Gaulle's notorious description of the relationship: "France will be the rider and Germany

Mr. Johnson is the author, most recently, of *Napoleon*. His *Art: A New History* is forthcoming.

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the horse." The problem here is that the German economy is not what it was. Virtual nil growth, low productivity and investment, and an almost total absence of the old dynamism—plus well over 4 million unemployed—make Germany a dubious engine of European revival. The French economy is in little better shape. Both countries are weakened by enormous social-service costs imposed on industry by EU legislation, by the rigidity enforced by Central Bank rules about the common currency, and by the influential role accorded to backward-looking trade unions. Hence the idea of Europe, under French and German leadership, replacing the U.S. as a superpower is a fantasy. It is significant that world-panic money leaving the dollar has flowed not into the euro but, as always in the past, into gold.

■

The Iraq crisis has been seized on by Chirac as an ideal opportunity to weaken America and raise opposition.

■

Tony Blair has always argued that the U.S. and Europe, instead of being hostile competitors, ought to be allies. His policy has consistently been to promote Britain as a bridge, and as the adhesive between Washington and Brussels. As recent events have shown, no fewer than eight European countries now see it Blair's way. But the Iraq crisis has been seized on by President Chirac as an ideal opportunity to weaken America and raise opposition and hatred. In this he has the full backing of the French intelligentsia. In recent months it has surpassed itself in its anti-American xenophobia, its fury at the notion of "Texas adolescents" wielding more power than "European sophisticates," and its identification of Washington with brutal power politics and gung-ho militarism. Mixed in this bouillabaisse of rage are anti-Semitism, a distrust of popular democracy, frustrated socialism, and a smug use of French cultural superiority. When the French elites are in such a mood they are beyond the reach of argument and are best ignored. **NR**

■ **AT WAR** ■

Follow the Money

The antiwar money, that is

BYRON YORK

THE antiwar group Not In Our Name has attracted a lot of attention in recent months by publishing a "statement of conscience" in newspapers across the country. The organization purchased two full pages in the January 27 *New York Times* to run the statement, which assails the Bush administration for "unleash[ing] a spirit of revenge" after the September 11 terrorist attacks and embarking on a course of "war abroad and repression at home." The letter was signed by hundreds of celebrity endorsers, including the actors Ed Asner, Martin Sheen, and Marisa Tomei; writers Kurt Vonnegut, Alice Walker, and Barbara Kingsolver; musicians Graham Nash, Pete Seeger, and Mos Def; and politicians Al Sharpton and Jesse Jackson.

The combination of well-known names and high-profile ad placement has made Not In Our Name a leading player in the antiwar movement. Yet relatively little attention has been paid to Not In Our Name's financial support network. A look at that network shows that the group relies on tax-exempt foundations that in the past have been—and today still are—affiliated with a variety of radical causes, including the defense of convicted murderer Mumia Abu-Jamal, support for Fidel Castro's regime in Cuba, and involvement with figures linked to Middle Eastern terrorism.

At a Not In Our Name demonstration held on January 27 outside the United Nations, one speaker declared that opposition to a war in Iraq, as exemplified by the rally, "is becoming a broad-based movement." A look behind the scenes, however, suggests that the organization itself is not broad-based at all, but is, rather, one of a small group of radical sects devoted to causes far removed from the antiwar effort.

Not In Our Name is in fact two groups, which began as one. The organization was created in March 2002 by a gathering of left-wing activists that included representatives from the Revolutionary Communist Party, the All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party, Refuse and Resist!, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, and the National Lawyers Guild, among others. The organizers intended for Not In Our Name to stage protests across the country and also draft, according to the group's organizing document, a "Not In Our Name Statement of Conscience to be issued by well-known artists, intellectuals, activists and people in public life, lending their moral authority and their unified voice to the resistance movement."

At least in the latter goal, Not In Our Name has been extraordinarily effective. But it had to split in two to succeed. There had been concern among organizers that some of those who might be inclined to sign the statement might not want to be associated with Not In Our Name's activist wing. So the group created two separate entities, one called the Not In Our Name Statement (which handles the manifesto and the collecting of celebrity signatures) and the other called the Not In Our Name Project (which handles street demonstrations and other protests). "For the statement to succeed, we thought it should be separate from any form of political actions," says Clark Kissinger, a member of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party who has played a major role in organizing Not In Our Name. "We wanted people to be able to sign the statement without having their names used to endorse other actions." Today, the staffs and finances of both groups are managed independently.

Still, both parts of Not In Our Name need to raise money. Rather than creating foundations to collect cash, they formed alliances with so-called "fiscal sponsors"—that is, already established foundations that could use their tax-exempt status for fundraising.

The Not In Our Name statement that appeared in the *Times* included a small box asking that donations be sent to

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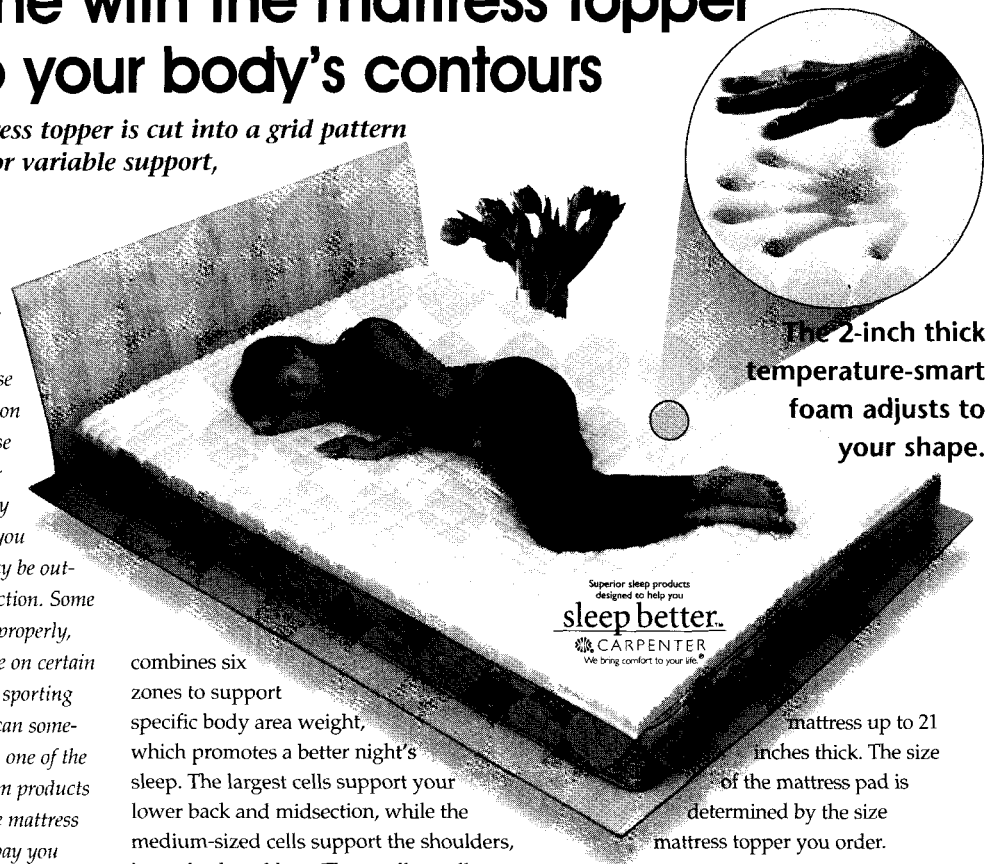

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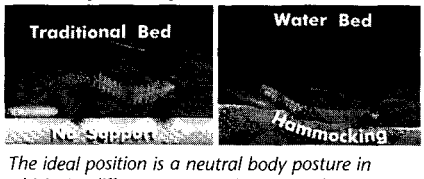

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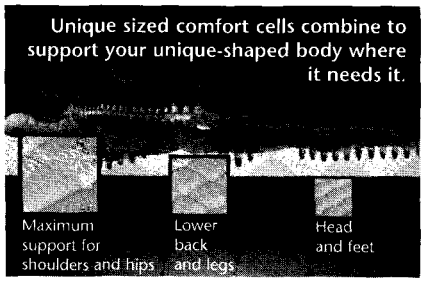
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something called the Bill of Rights Foundation. Last year, the foundation agreed to serve as Not In Our Name Statement's fiscal sponsor, but a look at the group's Internal Revenue Service records shows that until recently, it has had nothing at all to do with the peace movement. Rather, almost every dollar raised by the group for several years went to the legal defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the convicted cop-killer whose case has become a *cause célèbre* among some on the Left.

In 2001, for example, the foundation spent a total of $102,152, of which $95,737 went toward Abu-Jamal's legal expenses. In the year 2000, the foundation spent $75,956, of which $57,722 was for Abu-Jamal. And in 1999, the foundation spent $155,547, of which $139,126 went to Abu-Jamal's lawyers.

At the end of 2001, Abu-Jamal changed his legal and finance team, leaving the Bill of Rights Foundation without its main cause. In 2002, it hooked up with Not In Our Name Statement. Foundation president Judith Levin sees the Abu-Jamal case and opposition to a possible war as closely linked. "They're related as a matter of principle," she explains. "The connection is the violation of civil rights of people in this country."

For its fundraising, the Not In Our Name Project is allied with another foundation, this one called the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization. Founded by several New Left leaders in 1967 to "advance the struggles of oppressed people for justice and self-determination," IFCO was originally created to serve as the fundraising arm of a variety of activist organizations that lacked the resources to raise money for themselves.

In recent years, IFCO served as fiscal sponsor for an organization called the National Coalition to Protect Political Freedom (their partnership ended when the coalition formed its own tax-exempt foundation). Founded in 1997 as a reaction to the 1996 Anti-Terrorism Act, the coalition says its function is to oppose the use of secret evidence in terrorism prosecutions. Until recently the group's president was Sami Al-Arian, a University of South Florida computer-science professor who has been suspended for alleged ties to terrorism. (He is still a member of the coalition's board.) According to a *New York Times* report last year, Al-Arian is accused of having sent hundreds of thousands of dollars, raised by another charity he runs, to Palestinian Islamic Jihad. The *Times* also reported that FBI investigators "suspected Mr. Al-Arian operated 'a fund-raising front' for the Islamic Jihad movement in Palestine from the late 1980s to 1995." Al-Arian also brought a man named Ramadan Abdullah Shallah to the University of South Florida to raise money for one of Al-Arian's foundations—a job Shallah held until he later became the head of Islamic Jihad.

Today, IFCO sponsors Refuse and Resist!, an antiwar group with ties to the Revolutionary Communist Party, and also devotes substantial energy to supporting the Castro regime in Cuba. Cuba is a particular favorite of IFCO's executive director, the Rev. Lucius Walker, who, addressing a "solidarity conference" in Havana in November 2000, proclaimed, "Long live the struggle of the Cuban people! Long live the creative example of the Cuban Revolution! Long live the wisdom and heartfelt concern for the poor of the world by Fidel Castro!"

Both IFCO and the Bill of Rights Foundation are tax-exempt 501(c)(3) charities, which means that all contributions made to them—whether for antiwar protests, Cuban solidarity rallies, or the defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal—are fully tax-deductible. The groups have been quite successful. The most recent IRS records available for IFCO, from the year 2000, show that the foundation took in $1,119,564 in contributions. For their part, organizers of the Not In Our Name Statement report that they have taken in more than $400,000 in recent months for the purpose of publishing their statement. It is not possible to say who is giving the money, or whether it comes from many people or just a few; federal laws do not require tax-exempt foundations to reveal their donors—or even whether donations are received from inside or outside the United States.

"We who sign this statement call on all Americans to join together," says the Not In Our Name manifesto. To hear the group's leaders speak, one might think that is actually happening, that there really is a "broad-based movement" represented by these activists. But a look at the people and organizations involved in Not In Our Name suggests otherwise—no matter how many celebrity signatures they might collect. **NR**

John Korty/Agence France Presse

The antiwar movement, exposed

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■ PUBLIC POLICY ■

This Will Hurt

Bush takes on Medicare

RAMESH PONNURU

HERE we go again. In 1995, Republicans were basking in the aftermath of a historic election victory that had brought them more power than they had enjoyed in decades. They decided to use their new power to reform Medicare, the health program for old people. It was a major political mistake. The Democrats ran a tough campaign accusing Republicans of taking a meat cleaver to the popular program—a campaign so demagogic that Republicans dubbed it "Mediscare." The Republicans took a pummeling that eventually would end Newt Gingrich's "revolution" after just one year. The party didn't regain its confidence until George W. Bush took it over, and even now it has less zeal to rein in the welfare state than it did before the Medicare debacle.

In 2003, the Republicans are again enjoying the aftermath of a historic election victory. President Bush has proposed, as his main domestic initiative of the year, a reform of Medicare. Even the most aggressive Republican congressmen are nervous about it. They should be. The president has often profited by taking risks the chattering class of Washington thought were foolish. But the decision to take on Medicare is his riskiest domestic move yet. It could also be the biggest mistake of Bush's presidency.

Bush's plan is, in part, a response to the strong public demand for prescription-drug benefits for the elderly. Medicare was created in 1965, before the pharmaceutical revolution, and it doesn't pay for drugs. Democrats began clamoring for the addition of a drug benefit to Medicare in the late 1990s. The high price of prescription drugs was said to be putting senior citizens three steps from

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the poorhouse. Old folks were supposedly skipping meals to afford needed medicines. This wasn't true. Some people have trouble affording medicine, of course, but the average elderly American spent more every year dining out than getting drugs. Republicans knew that the issue was a powerful one, however, and immediately conceded that Medicare should cover drugs.

But most Republicans continue to believe that it would be dangerous for Medicare merely to add a drug benefit, without reform. For one thing, it would break the bank. The drug benefit that House Democrats were demanding last year was expected to cost up to $800 billion over ten years. That's on top of a Medicare program that is already on track to double in cost over the decade. If the previous experience of Medicare is any guide, the federal government would almost certainly be moved to institute de facto price controls on the pharmaceutical industry. Price controls would bring the industry's innovation—the very thing that gave rise to the demand for drug benefits in the first place—to an end.

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT

"What the Web allows me to do is stay on top of what the other side is doing. If you see something on the NATIONAL REVIEW website, you know you're going to hear it on the floor of the Senate, press releases from the House [Republican] leadership, and Fox [News]."

—Anita Dunn, Partner, Democratic media consulting firm Squier Knapp Dunn, and adviser to Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle

www.nationalreview.com

Bush wants to combine drug benefits with a market-based reform of the program, so that the new, improved Medicare will be efficient and affordable. Under that reform, Medicare recipients would be able to stay in the traditional program—or participate in a new one that offers drug benefits.

■

Most Republicans believe it would be dangerous for Medicare merely to add a drug benefit, without reform.

■

Republicans argue that this plan will be an easier sell than their 1995 proposals. In 1995, they were trying to squeeze money out of Medicare to balance the budget. They wanted to save $270 billion by restraining the program's growth. They were also seeking a $245 billion tax cut. The closeness of the numbers was not lost on Democrats, who accused the Republicans of skimping on seniors to finance tax cuts for the rich.

This time, Republicans will be *adding* to the Medicare budget. In his State of the Union address, Bush promised a $400 billion increase over the next decade. Much of that money will finance a new drug benefit for Medicare, a sweetener Republicans didn't offer in 1995.

They also think they will be much less vulnerable to another politically deadly charge that was made against them in 1995. Back then, Republicans said that Medicare should be opened up to competition. Senior citizens would be able to get their health benefits from private companies as well as from the traditional Medicare bureaucracy. The Democrats claimed that the GOP was really looking to herd senior citizens into HMOs.

Americans are familiar with being herded into HMOs. In the private sector, most employees have little choice but to sign up for the managed-care plan their employers have selected. Most people who get health care through HMOs express satisfaction with their care. But people generally dislike HMOs, and dislike the system that gives them so little choice and control. In 1995, Republicans wanted to make Medicare more like private-sector health care. That's exactly what senior citizens didn't want.

Bush's advisers realize, of course, that the Republicans' 1995 proposal was a political disaster. They also think it led to bad policy. After beating up the Republicans through the 1996 elections, the Democrats allowed a version of their proposal to become law. It was called Medicare+Choice, and it was a failure. Competition never really materialized. Participating HMOs were subjected to onerous regulations and to price controls; many of them stopped participating.

Bush's advisers believe they have a better proposal this time. They have learned from conservative health-care experts, who say that private-sector health care is not a good model for free-market reform. Most private-sector employees, they say, have little choice among health plans because various government policies have distorted the market. The Heritage Foundation has long contended that a better model is, oddly enough, the health program that covers federal employees. That program gives beneficiaries a wide range of choices. They can choose HMOs, and around 40 percent of them do. But they can also get coverage from Blue Cross/Blue Shield, or from preferred provider organizations (PPOs), or from other types of plans. Competition keeps costs down, and choice keeps beneficiaries happy. In surveys, federal employees express high levels of satisfaction with their health coverage.

Bush's new program is based on the federal employees' plan. Republicans think the plan will be more attractive to voters than the 1995 proposal. Bob Moffit, a policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation, thinks that the fact that Bush is building on the federal plan will neutralize some of the Democrats' criticisms: "He's saying that senior citizens should have the same choices that members of Congress have. Does anybody seriously believe that over the last 43 years members of Congress . . . designed an inferior program for themselves and their families?"

For Republican optimists, the biggest difference between now and 1995 is President Bush. In 1995, the president was Bill Clinton, who blasted the Republican pro-

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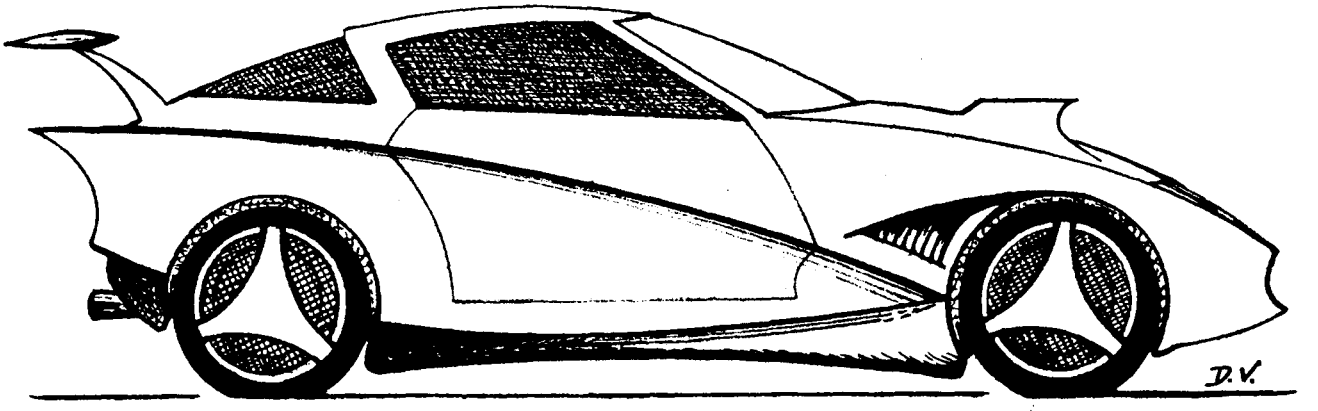
Hot-Rod Catholicism



Why is so much of Catholicism gutless, anemic, and wimpy these days? Is it because there are so many touchie-feelie types in the priesthood? You know, "Let's all hold hands now and sing 'All Shall Be Well,' and then let's give one another a big hug." It's like being back at summer camp. No wonder the sacred liturgy often resembles a hootenanny!

And we get camp-fire sermonettes with all the substance and nutrition of a marshmallow. Where's the beef? We don't hear much, if anything, about the Church's teachings on abortion, contraception, euthanasia, homosexuality, premarital sex, pornography, consumerism, the indissolubility of marriage, Purgatory, or Hell. Pope John Paul II valiantly called for a New Evangelization, and we sit around hearing from fey priests about how we need to get in touch with our inner rainbow.

Hey, it's time to streamline our old clunker, beef up the suspension, soup up the engine and slap a supercharger on it, dump the sludgebox transmission in favor of a 6-speed manual gearbox, kick out the duplicitous pansy priests, and *get movin'*.

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posal in an unprecedented advertising campaign. The chief proponent of the reform was the abrasive and unpopular Newt Gingrich. Now the White House is occupied by a popular reformer. Says Republican strategist Ed Gillespie, "Having the megaphone on your side changes the dynamic entirely. . . . It is different when you're getting air cover from 1600 Pennsylvania [Avenue] rather than getting strafed by it."

Hill Republicans are going to need all the air cover they can get. The Democrats are gleefully rehearsing their old lines: Once again the GOP is said to be pushing old folks into HMOs. In his response to the State of the Union address, Gary Locke, the Democratic governor of Washington State, said, "[Bush's] plan only helps seniors who leave traditional Medicare. Our parents shouldn't be forced to give up their doctor or join an HMO to get the medicine they need."

Democrats have good reason to think the public will take their side. Political pundits have long described Social Security as "the third rail of American politics": Touch it and you die. But public support for Social Security reform has risen to the point where that's no longer true. Medicare, on the other hand, may be that third rail. As a political issue, Social Security calls to mind people's fears about their finances in old age. Medicare combines those fears with people's anxieties about their health in old age.

A poll in January asked registered voters whether they wanted a drug benefit and Medicare reform, or just a drug benefit. The no-reform, yes-to-benefits option won by 27 points. (So much for the idea that this president is poll-driven.) And while Republicans won the 2002 elections, the winning candidates didn't talk about Medicare reform. The GOP won no mandate for reform, and the Democrats know it—just as in 1995.

The 2002 campaign made prospects for Medicare reform worse in another way, too. A lot of Democrats played up their votes for President Bush's overall agenda. They still lost. The remaining Democrats have concluded that they're better off tending to their left-wing base than working with President Bush. They're in no mood to be statesmen. Get ready for Mediscare II. **NR**

■ **CONGRESS** ■

Let 'Em Talk!

The case for *real*, not fake, filibusters

KATE O'BEIRNE

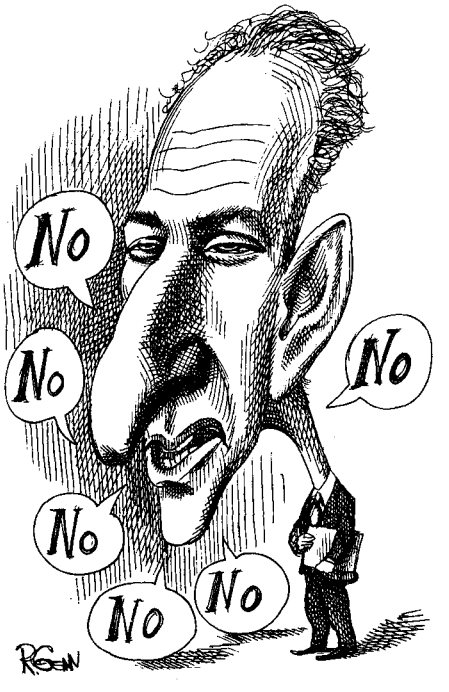
As he seeks to get his ambitious agenda through Congress, President Bush is going to learn that his chief legislative opponent isn't Tom Daschle or Nancy Pelosi. The legislative roadblock that threatens to derail his initiatives and nominations is Senate Rule XXII, the provision allowing a senator to mount a filibuster, thereby blocking a vote, unless a supermajority of 60 senators invokes cloture to end the protest. In recent Congresses, the mere *threat* of mounting a filibuster has been sufficient to prevent a simple majority of senators from acting. The opening volley in the liberal assault on the GOP agenda is the threatened filibuster of judicial nominees.

Democrats have disruptive designs on much of the Bush agenda, but since the announced offensive against fully qualified judicial nominees is unprecedented, so too should be the response of the Senate's new majority. A threatened filibuster alone should not allow 41 senators to block the confirmation of federal judges. Rather than surrender preemptively to the need for 60 votes to confirm a judge, Senate majority leader Bill Frist should call the Democrats' bluff, and bring back the traditional filibuster. Let Kate Michelman, leader of the abortion lobby, man the cots and wipe the brows of weary Democrats forced to talk 'round the clock.

In response to Democrats' threats to filibuster Miguel Estrada's confirmation, Sen. Orrin Hatch has vowed to make them put up or shut up. Hatch, who heads the Senate Judiciary Committee, recently told GOP colleagues that, as far as he is concerned, "If they want to talk about him for two weeks, they can talk about him for two weeks." If Bill Frist shares Hatch's welcome resolve, it would be a sharp departure from the Senate's present practice, which allows a single senator to disrupt legislation simply by asserting his intent to mount a filibuster.

The notion of the drama-laden, long-winded Senate filibuster is an outdated one arising from Hollywood movies and the bitter civil-rights debates of the past. In *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*, the idealistic newcomer halts Senate action for 23 hours while he rails to the point of exhaustion against congressional corruption. Eighteen southern Democrats and one Republican conducted the longest filibuster in history when they blocked action on the 1964 Civil Rights Act for 75 days. The longest lone filibuster was staged by Strom Thurmond, who prepared for the ordeal by dehydrating himself in a sauna before taking to the Senate floor for over 24 hours to block a vote on a 1957 civil-rights bill.

After the adoption of Rule XXII in 1917 (at the behest of President Wilson, who was frustrated by the chamber's tolerance for endless debate), senators intent on blocking action by talking nonstop could be silenced by a two-thirds vote that invoked cloture, thereby limiting debate on pending legislation. The new rule was used in 1919 to end a filibuster against the Treaty of Versailles.



Sen. Charles Schumer (D., N.Y.) by Roman Genn

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But despite Rule XXII, filibusters remained an effective tool to block Senate action owing to the difficulty of rallying a two-thirds vote. An increasingly crowded Senate schedule and persistent frustration over filibuster delays led senators in 1975 to reduce the supermajority to the current three-fifths.

In the 1960s, the Senate averaged just two filibusters a year. (That is to say, actual filibusters, not just threatened ones.) The 1980s saw the filibuster threat used about 90 times, including in 1989 to block a capital-gains tax cut. By the early 1990s there was an average of 15 a year. In 1993, majority leader George Mitchell complained, "Right now in this Senate there are six different filibusters going on at one time."

The "modern," "silent," or "gentleman's" filibuster might more accurately be called the "lazy man's" filibuster. It has become so trivialized that there is no longer any need to silence an objecting senator. Once he signals his intent to filibuster, a senator is free even to leave town if he chooses, confident that he has triggered the need for 60 votes. The Senate will generally move on to other business, without any requirement that he be prepared to follow through on his filibuster threat. Sen. Robert C. Byrd has described the cozy arrangement as a "casual, gentlemanly, good-guy filibuster . . . Everybody goes home and gets a good night's sleep, and everybody protects everybody else."

But when a Republican minority blocked action on the Clinton agenda, Democrats cried foul, going so far as to launch a campaign in 1994 dubbed "Action, Not Gridlock" to abolish the modern filibuster. When the balance of forces changed in the Senate later in 1994, so too did liberals' rules of engagement and their view of the misuse of this particular parliamentary tactic. In early 1995, only 19 of 47 Democratic senators voted in favor of an unsuccessful attempt to get rid of the filibuster. "Gridlock, Not Action" had become the battle cry of the new Democratic minority now committed to blocking Republican initiatives.

Given the Senate's cherished respect for the rights of the minority—a status either party is just one election away from—the filibuster is unlikely to be abolished. As then-majority leader Trent Lott pointed out in 1999, "I might not much like it now, but someday I might like it more." And conservatives have reason to like a legislative maneuver that has been used effectively to block tax hikes, ill-considered campaign-finance reform, and Hillary Clinton's health-care extravaganza. Still, the modern filibuster has been abused to the point that, unless an initiative is protected by special rules generally reserved for budget matters, virtually nothing can happen without a 60-vote majority in the Senate. Some behavior modification is in order to preserve an important tool that is too easily abused.

"In general, regardless of who's using them or how they're used, this is not supposed to be a procedure that sets up a supermajority hurdle routinely," explains Norm Ornstein, congressional scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. "It's supposed to be something reserved for an issue of great national moment when a minority feels intensely about it." There will be little interest in restoring the traditional filibuster across the board because the burden placed on senators forced to meet its round-the-clock demands conflicts with a modern, "family-friendly" Senate.

But, with Kate Michelman demanding that Democratic senators filibuster any judicial nominee who fails to give full-throated support to abortion rights, and People for the American Way's Ralph Neas pledging "judicial Armageddon" to block the approval of the president's nominees, Republicans should be expected to fight back with the most powerful weapon in their arsenal. It is not too much to ask that Republicans inconvenience themselves on behalf of such consequential matters as a ban on cloning and the appointment of federal judges.

So when Democrats take to the floor to block consideration of Miguel Estrada or Priscilla Owen or any of the other Bush nominees, Bill Frist must be prepared to make the Dems stay there, for as long as it takes. By calling their bluff, Frist will have set a good precedent: that under his management, 51 votes represents a Senate majority. And, an opening act that focuses public attention on a Democratic filibuster of a Hispanic or a female nominee will set the stage for the coming acrimonious battles over nominees for the Supreme Court. **NR**

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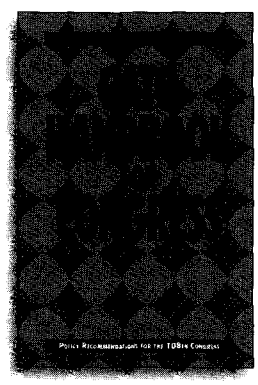

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■ SPACE ■

After *Columbia*

NASA ought to have clear and sensible purposes

JOHN DERBYSHIRE

But I, remembering, pitied well
And loved them, who, with lonely light,
In empty infinite spaces dwell,
Disconsolate. For, all the night,
I heard the thin gnat-voices cry,
Star to faint star, across the sky.

RUPERT BROOKE was speaking of the stars themselves, as seen from a country lane in Cambridgeshire on a crisp fall evening 95 years ago. It is hard not to feel, though, that he had some premonition of there one day being real human voices squeaking disconsolately to one another, "star to faint star," across the lonely sky. At any rate, whenever I catch a TV news clip showing astronauts on board an orbiting shuttle, and hear their distorted voices, it is Brooke's lines that come to my mind.

Those news clips are few and far between nowadays. Other than as brief "filler" items in a slow news season, manned space travel is not interesting to the TV-watching public, except when something ghastly happens. The heroic days of the *Apollo* program are an entire generation behind us. In all likelihood, NASA prefers things this way. The nation's manned space effort is a quiet program, chugging away behind the scenes, doing . . . what? Best not to inquire.

I did inquire. To be precise, I went to the Internet and pulled off the NASA press kit for Shuttle Mission STS-107—the one that ended so horribly on February 1. Let us see. In the shuttle's payload bay we have: an experiment that will "examine bone formation . . . and bacterial and yeast cell responses to the stresses of spaceflight" . . . a German project to measure "the development of the gravity-sensing organs of fish in the absence of gravity" . . . the "Mediterranean Israeli Dust Experiment" . . . "the Critical Viscosity of Xenon-2" . . .

I do not doubt that these are very worthy experiments. But unfortunately, everything in this world must be paid for, and the price of carrying out these investigations aboard the shuttle is extraordinarily high—around $10,000 per pound of payload. Presumably the scientists looking into the critical viscosity of xenon-2 are happy to have their experiment aboard the shuttle. My guess, though, is that if they were told that no more shuttle flights were available, and that they would have to find some other way to spend their $10,000 per pound, they would not be inconsolable.

Contrariwise, there are many scientists whom the shuttle program makes very unhappy indeed. Take those involved with the Pluto-Kuiper Express mission, for instance. This was a proposal to send a small, unmanned spacecraft to fly by the planet Pluto, at the outermost edge of the solar system. Pluto is the only planet not yet visited by a spacecraft. Its importance lies in the fact that it is not, strictly speaking, a planet at all, but just the largest member of the Kuiper Belt, a zone of billions of icy objects left over from the solar system's formation. It is thought that these objects are occasionally dislodged from their orbits by tiny gravitational changes arising from their mutual interactions, and from the sun's passage among the stars. They then fall in to the inner solar system, adding to the chances of a civilization-destroying impact with our own planet. It would be nice to understand more about the Kuiper Belt, and about Pluto, which at present is known to us only as a fuzzy blob. Unfortunately, the PKE mission was canceled in September 2000 due to cost overruns. A scaled-down version has since been approved, with an absolute cost cap of $500 million, but it has been a long and hard-fought struggle.

By way of comparison, three years ago the General Accounting Office estimated the cost of a single shuttle launch at $512 million. The shuttle budget is a cuckoo in the nest of the space budget as a whole, grabbing all funds for itself from the limited amount Congress is willing to appropriate for non-military space flight. For less than the cost of putting seven people into orbit for two weeks and acquiring some incremental understanding of things like "yeast cell responses to the stresses of spaceflight," we could map Pluto and get a better fix on our odds for survival as a species.

These are the tradeoffs that space scientists are forced to engage in on account of the shuttle, and the political pressures to keep it flying. The situation has been made worse by the promotion of the International Space Station, a techno-diplomatic extravaganza of no practical value whose cost, name notwithstanding, falls mainly on the U.S. taxpayer.

Agence France Presse

As well as being expensive, the shuttle fleet is old. NASA should be spending much more than it does on planning a replacement. Over the past few years, Congress has in fact appropriated nearly $5 billion to such a replacement, but nothing has come of it. Everyone who knows the realities of the shuttle program—everyone, that is, other than the big aerospace contractors who milk it—is bitter and angry about these things. Here, for example, is spaceflight journalist Carlton Meyer, writing on the "Spacedaily" website late last year:

> Perhaps NASA should build a "Sea Station" 1000 feet below the sea and

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Worldwide Islamic Terrorism

Are the U.S., Israel and other nations fighting the same enemy?

The world is being victimized by an epidemic of terrorism—from the September 11 attacks, the USS Cole bombing in Yemen and suicide bombers in Israel, to murderous kidnappings in the Philippines, a nightclub bombing in Bali, the deadly guerrilla takeover of a Moscow opera house, and the fatal hotel bombing in Kenya. Is there a connection among these far-flung terrorist acts?

What are the facts?

Radical Islam is the common denominator. Four Al Qaeda conspirators were recently convicted of the deadly bombing of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998. Suspects linked to Osama bin Laden bombed the USS Cole in 2001. That same year, the Abu Sayyaf Group in the Philippines kidnapped and beheaded Christian missionaries. A group called Jamaah Islamiah committed the Bali nightclub massacre in October, 2002, which killed more than 200 innocent victims. In late 2002, an Islamic Chechen guerrilla group seized a packed Moscow opera house, causing the deaths of more than 100 people.

But clearly, Israelis and Jews are primary targets of these terrorists. Last November, Muslims bombed an Israeli hotel in Kenya, killing 13. In Israel itself, the Islamic groups Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Hizbollah have murdered more than 600 civilians and injured over 4,000 in the last two years—a devastation in that tiny country equal to having more than 35,000 U.S. citizens killed and 230,000 wounded.

> "Islamic terrorist groups share one common purpose: To rid the world of 'infidels' and to establish a worldwide Islamic order."

These worldwide terrorist acts have two glaring elements in common. First, all were committed by radical Islamists—groups that advocate overthrowing Western democratic governments and replacing them with fundamentalist Islamic regimes. Second, all these groups believe that killing innocent people in terrorist acts is a legitimate way to achieve their goals.

What does radical Islam really want? Despite the nationalistic focus of some of these terrorist groups, they all share dedication to a common purpose: carrying out a *jihad*, or holy war, to rid the world of "infidels," such as Christians, Jews and Hindus, and the establishment of a worldwide Islamic order.

For example, although the immediate goal of Hamas (the terrorist Islamic Resistance Movement of the Palestinians) is local—to eliminate all Jews from Israel and the disputed territories—Hamas claims affiliation with the international Muslim Brotherhood, whose purposes are "building the Muslim state" and "mastering the world with Islam" through *jihad*.

Likewise, while the Abu Sayyaf Group appears focused on ridding the Philippines of Christians—usually by beheading them—it has received funding from the Taliban in Afghanistan and other organizations affiliated with Osama bin Laden. It, too, is part of the international terrorist movement.

The same is true of Chechen rebels: While their demands focus on regional independence, their philosophy is radical Islam, and they have shadowy connections to Al Qaeda.

Of course Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden makes no secret of his murderous global design: To create worldwide Islamic rule by killing or subjugating non-Muslims, especially Jews and Christians.

Why does radical Islam use terrorism? To most of the world, the idea of purposefully killing innocent people—even for a noble cause—is unthinkable. Likewise, the notion of suicide bombers: Most of the world's religions consider human life to be God's most precious gift, not to be sacrificed, except to save others.

The *jihadis* believe otherwise. They justify heartless, cold-blooded killing of innocent women and children on behalf of Allah. They entice youngsters to commit suicide, to become "martyrs," with the promise of sensual pleasures in the hereafter.

What can be done? When our leaders tell us we are threatened by terrorism, they only tell half the story. Terrorism is clearly dangerous to our people and anathema to our social, religious and democratic values. Yet terrorism is *not* a goal in itself—it is a vicious tactic of warfare, used to achieve totalitarian ends.

Indeed, if we declare our enemy to be terrorism, *we fail to see our real enemy*. The enemy is militant Islam, which uses terrorism to destroy democratic institutions and deny our basic freedoms. It is a tool being used ruthlessly to supplant our civilization with religious fundamentalism—to impose upon us a world order based on orthodox Islam, with its harsh rules of behavior, intolerance of diversity, subjugation of women and totalitarian political rule.

It's time we speak out: Radical Islam—*not* just the tactic of terrorism—threatens our country, the state of Israel and other democratic nations. It's also time for moderate Muslims and their imams to raise their voices . . . and unequivocally condemn the violent aims of their brethren. The world waits for you to dissociate your faith from these bloody tactics and their authoritarian purposes. Finally, it's time to fight back: We cannot pretend that we don't know who is responsible for today's deadly terrorist attacks, and we cannot suffer them passively. Just as the U.S. is responding aggressively to the threat of terrorism, so must Israel respond, since its people are being killed and maimed by terror attacks on a daily basis. Above all and for everyone's good, militant Islam must be fought and defeated through a united effort by all civilized nations.

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use submarines to take foreigners and other salaried government tourists on "missions" to conduct "experiments" and set "endurance records" while "improving international relations." This idea may seem crazy, but it would be much cheaper than the shuttle program and accomplish just as much.

Meyer predicted another catastrophic accident, but this did not require any special foresight on his part. The design of the shuttle—1970s technology, compromised by chronic funding uncertainties and severe budget constraints, and overseen by government bureaucrats—virtually guarantees regular failures. The clamor to fix whatever it was that caused *Columbia* to disintegrate will at best have the result of reducing by one the hundreds of things that can go wrong on a shuttle flight. Ten launches later—or 20, or 50—another seven astronauts will be killed by some different malfunction.

■

The romance of space is not a negligible consideration, not for Americans.

■

The shuttle is, in fact, extraordinarily dangerous. Now, space flight will never be an anxiety-free enterprise. The only practicable way to get human beings into space is by dint of a colossal controlled explosion. Having once got them into space, their velocity relative to the surface of the earth being then at least 17,000 miles per hour, getting them back—reducing that velocity to zero—needs either an equivalent explosion (in which case the explosive must be taken aloft with them) or else the use of air resistance for braking. Only the latter is realistic, and it means subjecting the reentry vehicle to extreme heat and stress at altitudes far beyond the reach of emergency help.

Barring some sensational discovery in fundamental physics—something equivalent to the gravity-shielding "Cavorite" that took H. G. Wells's astronauts aloft in *The First Men in the Moon*—we are stuck with these fiery realities of combustion and friction. There are good reasons to think, though, that the perils of manned space flight could be reduced by an order of magnitude. Just look at the record: The shuttle mission that ended in catastrophe on February 1 was the 113th. Of that 113, two ended in disaster, with the loss of all hands. This means that for an astronaut sitting in a shuttle waiting for ignition, his odds of being killed during the mission are, on present evidence (and there are people who will tell you we have been lucky), around 2 percent. Those are simply terrible odds. It is difficult to think of any human activity other than battlefield combat that is equally dangerous. The equivalent risk for an Air Force test pilot taking off is hundreds of times smaller. For a civilian starting up his car or boarding a plane, it is *tens of thousands* of times smaller. Forty years into the era of manned space flight, we can surely do much better than 2 percent.

For I do believe that manned space flight is worthwhile. Practical arguments aside, we *ought* to be taking slow, tentative, and sensibly funded steps into space. Those lines of Rupert Brooke's hint at an important feature of a manned space program: It is a romantic enterprise. It has an appeal to our deeper selves, most especially to those aspects of our consciousness that other national endeavors cannot reach—aspects concerned with our relationship to the larger cosmos, the future of our species, the fragility of our civilization, and the divine purpose in providing us with such inconceivably vast empty spaces to roam in, so innumerably many barren worlds of rock, ice, and frozen vapor to examine.

This romance is not a negligible consideration, not for Americans. For a coldly utilitarian people—the ancient Romans, say, or the modern Chinese—it might be. For us, as Calvin Coolidge noted a lifetime ago: "The things of the spirit come first." There is a respectable case to be made that, at this point in human development, there is no need for human beings to be in space at all. I doubt Americans can be persuaded by that case. Popular sentiment is in favor of a manned space program, and the nation ought to have one; but not, surely, one in which spiders and yeast cells are hoisted aloft at $500 million a throw, with 2 percent odds on fiery destruction. Let us do a little rethinking about what we want from manned space flight, and how best we can get it. **NR**

■ **WORLD AFFAIRS** ■

A Dose of Davos

Talk about a 'global village'!

JAY NORDLINGER

Davos, Switzerland

IT'S really true: Everyone is here. I mean, everyone and his brother. No wonder the resentful resent Davos so much. It's almost enough to make you believe in conspiracy! The World Economic Forum features heads of state, foreign ministers, finance ministers, CEOs, and many others who move and shake. There are about 2,500 participants in all. What was that Bill Buckley crack? That he'd rather be governed by the first 2,000 names in the Boston phone book than by the Harvard faculty? Well, would he rather be governed by the pooh-bahs of Davos?

Our motto—I mean, the Forum's motto (see? I'm putting on airs already)—is "Committed to Improving the State of the World." It would be hard to improve on the state of this village itself. Davos looks like a Disney version of Switzerland, or, alternatively, it looks like a snow globe. We are in *Magic Mountain* land. We are also in Heidi Land. That's what I see in an advertisement: "Get Your Mineral Water, Straight from Heidi Land!" You remember Heidi, don't you? She's the one who interrupted that football game.

The theme of this year's Forum—actually, it's called the Annual Meeting of the World Economic Forum—is trust. I mean, Trust. In its researches, the Forum has discovered that trust is waning around the world. Trust in . . . ? In government, in companies, in leadership generally. The thought occurs to me that a little distrust—a little skepticism—is a healthy thing in a populace. And, in fact, a U.S. congressman—Republican Rob Portman of Ohio—gives voice to exactly this view, in the Meeting's opening session. There aren't many right-leaners here. The air in Davos—pristine and

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glorious and Alpine as it is—soon fills with an anti-Bush stench.

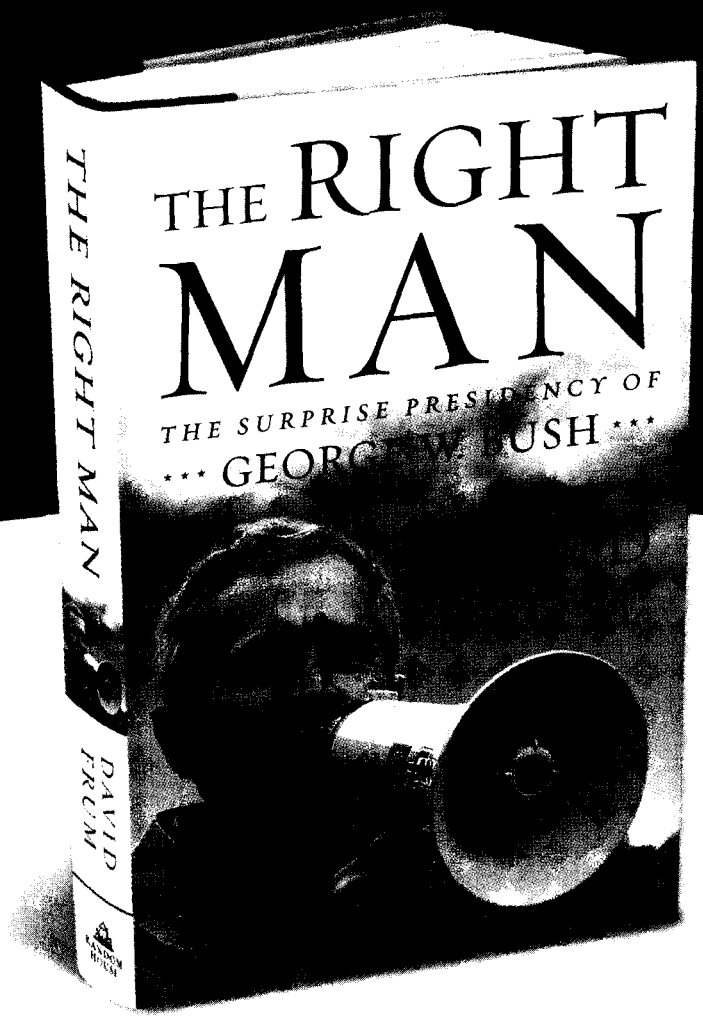
First, though, who are the pooh-bahs of the Annual Meeting? I say again: Who's *not*? It's a little like the pages of the *New York Times* come to life. You've got those heads of state: King Abdullah, Vicente Fox, "Lula!" You've got your business bigs: Bill Gates, Michael Dell, the Google guy. You've got some off-beaters, like Ravi Shankar, the sitar player and yoga guru, and the actress Julia Ormond, who seems to be the resident babe (not that there's not a lot of competition in Switzerland). And—ecumenical as the Meeting is—you've even got AFL-CIO boss John Sweeney, looking like . . . well, a Disney version of a labor boss.

There's also a contingent of religious leaders, an assortment of sheikhs, rabbis, and priests. Davos wouldn't be Davos without a grand mufti or two (especially now). Among the religious is a man with my favorite title of all time: I'm talking about His Beatitude Dr. Anastasios, Archbishop of Tirana and All Albania. *His Beatitude!* How'd you like to be known as His Beatitude Joe Smith or whatever?

Our seminars, "working dinners," coffees, and so on, are endless, and their variety is infinite, too. Sure, you've got your usual topics, like "Helping Japan Avoid Another Lost Decade" and "Globalization at a Crossroads." But you've also got "Love: A Matter of Trust" and "Why Do We Age and Why Do We Hate It?" (Ravi Shankar holds forth in that one—in both, actually). You can even drop in on "Shakespeare and Leadership," hosted by Richard Olivier, son of you-know-who.

On the first day of the Meeting, we seem to have a star: Mahathir Mohamad, prime minister of Malaysia. He's known as a shining moderate in the Muslim world. Which is a little alarming. In his remarks to the throng, he posits a strict moral equivalence between the United States and its enemies. America calls them the "Axis of Evil"; they call America the "Great Satan." Both sides—*both sides*—are "convinced they are right," which is the source of all this trouble. September 11 was merely a question of "the weak" lashing out at "the strong." America must determine what is bugging these

The first inside account of a historic year in the White House



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how he is likely to lead us in the future.

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SBC questions whether anyone oth
to eliminating state oversight an

Fair q

USA TODAY
"Seven years ago, Congress set out to break up the local Bell telephone monopolies and bring competition to consumers' homes. But just as states are finally figuring out how to make that promise a reality, and some communities are seeing phone bills drop, **federal regulators may unplug the competitors at the behest of the four Bell monopolies**." 1/14/03

Austin American Statesman
"We think consumers ought to continue to get what little local phone competition there is. We don't think that can happen if Powell and the FCC effectively give the Bells back their monopolies — **this time with virtually no restriction on their local rates** and still able to offer long-distance service." 1/13/03

San Jose Mercury News
"The Bells claim that current rules forcing them to lease parts of their networks to competitors are unfair. They complain that the lease rates are far below cost. They want the FCC to undo the rules, **shutting the door on the system that pried open their monopolies....** In other words, SBC will have a lock on both local and long-distance and will be free to gouge Californians for phone service. Watch that phone bill." 12/24/03

National Association of State Utility Consumer Advocates
"...any analysis of the continued necessity of particular unbundled network elements, or of competitive impairment absent availability of particular unbundled network element is one that **must take place on a state-by-state, market-by-market basis, and can best be undertaken by state commissions** rather than the Federal Communications Commission...." 11/12/02

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
"**States where competition for local service has been allowed to proceed are seeing an increase in investment and jobs**, and that's what we need for the long term good of the industry." 1/15/03

Crain's Chicago Business
"Federal Communications Commission Chairman Michael Powell seems to think the way to stimulate competition in the local telephone business is to eliminate the competitors that have just begun to challenge regional Bell companies. His plan to scrap rules granting rival local service providers access to the Bell networks at discounted rates would **snuff out competition in the residential market barely a year after it began**." 1/13/03

Wisconsin Citizens' Utility Board
"In announcing that it would slash 11,000 telecom jobs, including many here in Wisconsin, **SBC/Ameritech has embarked upon a crude game of political blackmail**.... SBC is arguing that the only way to avoid this job-loss carnage is to get Congress or the FCC to raise the telecom prices on Wisconsin consumers.... That would result in increases of hundreds of millions of dollars in local telecom and Internet access rates all around the country, including here in Wisconsin." (Wisconsin Rapids Daily Tribune) 1/10/03

National Association of Regulatory Utility Commissioners
"Instead of simply complying with the Court's mandate and current law, **the RBOC's continue to lobby Congress and the FCC for special protection from the rules**. We do not believe such efforts will, in the end, benefit customers or stimulate economic growth in the telecommunications sector." 10/27/02

Hey SBC, keep tho

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than Voices for Choices is opposed ending local phone competition.

stion.

American Conservative Union
"To eliminate the UNE-P provisions [prematurely] would be too disruptive of the developing markets and of the investments of those who have been encouraged by the government to participate in them.... Because the state PUCs are closer to the specific needs of consumers – **the states are best suited to implement the competitive promise and Congressional intent of the Telecommunications Act**." 12/11/02

St. Petersburg Times
"Fortunately, the decision on local phone competition isn't up to Powell alone, but must be approved by three of the five FCC commissioners. The issue may be complex but the decision should be easy. The FCC should allow competitors reasonable access to the established companies' loops and switches, and they should allow states to retain the authority to set the rates for those transactions. That is the **only chance most Americans have of seeing competition for their local phone business**." 1/19/03

Philadelphia Inquirer
"Finding the right balance on pricing and all the technicalities of local-phone competition has been the job of state regulators. It's not a perfect system, but it has yielded some local competition. **Now is not the time for the FCC to hang up on that effort**." 1/14/03

San Francisco Business Times
"That competition at the local level has never flourished as the architects of the telecommunications reform intended doesn't give regulators an excuse to simply stop trying. **Rewriting the rules in a way designed to curtail competition is an obvious step in the wrong direction**." 1/10/03

Miami Herald
"**For decades taxpayers subsidized the building of the telephone infrastructure** and guaranteed the profits of the old Ma Bell. It's only fair that the networks now owned by the Baby Bells be shared at inexpensive rates with rivals who didn't have the same advantage. Rules that provide incentives should remain in place at least until competition has spread widely. For decades most Americans bought local phone services from a monopoly. The FCC should ensure that consumers now have a choice." 1/19/03

Texas Public Utilities Commission
"'The commission believes that **regulatory oversight of rates, quality of service and other customer protections are critical**' in preserving competition." (Austin American Statesman) 1/15/03

Independent State Commissions
California Public Utilities Commission
Florida Public Service Commission
Georgia Public Service Commission
Illinois Commerce Commission
Indiana Utility Regulatory Commission
Kansas Corporation Commission
Louisiana Public Service Commission
Massachusetts Department of Telecommunication and Energy
Michigan Public Service Commission
Mississippi Public Service Commission
Nebraska Public Service Commission
New York State Dept of Public Service
Oregon Public Utility Commission
Pennsylvania Public Utility Commission

questions coming.

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folks and "negotiate" with them. Etc.

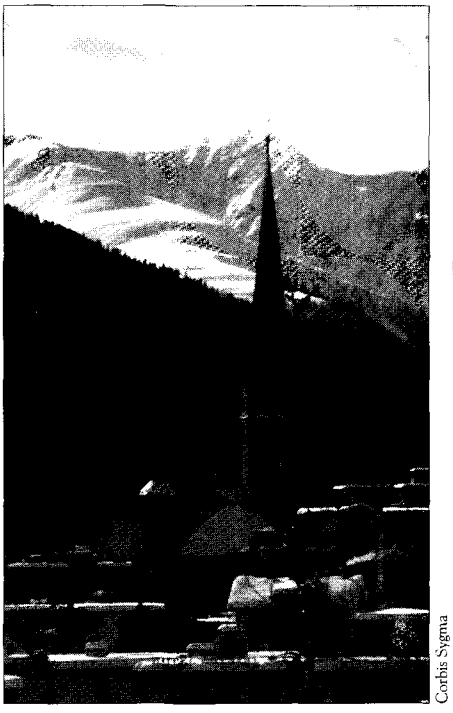
The crowd laps it up like milk. As the Meeting wears on, the question seems not so much "the West and the rest" as "the world against the United States" (or certainly against a Republican United States, led by a wearer of cowboy boots). I hear repeatedly about capital punishment in Texas, brutality at Guantanamo Bay, and the notorious American swagger. If Davos has a favorite American, it's Jimmy Carter. After him, it's Bill Clinton, who is, in fact, here (daughter in tow). He is referred to as "the President" and treated like a great sage. Clinton is a symbol of an earlier American sanity now sadly lost in the reign of Bush the Stupid and Dangerous.

As I look on, it occurs to me that Clinton is pulling a Carter—that he is rising above mere Americanness to become a kind of Global Man. Absent from his constant outflow of talk is any mention of U.S. interests. He is all Global Interdependency. But then, when in Davos . . .

Listen, though: America will never be the most despised country as long as there's Israel. Many Davosers casually assume that Ariel Sharon is a monster and that the Palestinians are the most abused people on earth. (They are among them, to be sure—thanks, not least, to their own "leadership." In whom *much* lack of Trust is warranted.) Shimon Peres is here, and he is, of course, the world elite's favorite Israeli. Didn't Abba Eban used to play this role? Peres swans around, accepting compliments, almost surely more popular in Davos than in Israel.

Back to America for a sec. Whenever I'm at an international conclave like this—not that there's anything quite like the Davos forum—I'm struck by the near uniqueness of American self-criticism. I am conscious of the absence of self-criticism from elsewhere, hearing the dog that doesn't bark. I just about never hear a Saudi curse—or even question—his country or its role in the world. The same goes for Indonesians, Nigerians, and others. The Americans are critical of America; the non-Americans are critical of America. I think of one of Reagan's favorite jokes: An American and a Russian are having an argument, back in Cold War days. The American says, "I live in a free country—I can march past the White House and yell, 'Down with Reagan!'" The Russian says, "Big deal. I can march past the Kremlin and yell, 'Down with Reagan!'"

I notice a trait in my fellow journalists, too—those from the U.S. We have many opportunities to question foreign leaders, about anything (e.g., problems in their own countries and in their own foreign policies). But the questions from



Corbis Sygma

The global village of Davos

Americans tend to be invitations to bash the Bush administration. They have almost a goading quality. The gist of these questions is, "Hello, I'm Betty Brown from the *Chicago Herald-Gazette*. Isn't it a shame that George W. Bush is such an idiot?" And the foreign minister—or whoever—says, "Why, yes, as a matter of fact, it *is* a shame that George W. Bush is an idiot."

Still, one of the points of Davos is to blow off a lot of steam. It's a bit of therapy, in a way. The gab sessions may constitute a kind of release—because, in the final analysis, these opinions and denunciations matter little: Power comes down to the little twanger in the Oval Office. And talk is essentially all that these others—including American Democrats—have.

It falls to some of us to meet with a high official of Communist China. As we chat, I can't help thinking of the Nancy Astor question. According to legend, when Lady Astor met Joseph Stalin in the Kremlin, she said, "Pleasure to meet you. When are you going to stop killing people?" But this Chinese official is affable and sincere, and all the questions are polite and encouraging. No official from Taiwan, it seems, has ever been invited to Davos. Too bad. They've got officials from the Iranian regime here! And from Saddam's!

In due course, we meet a bevy of Latin Americans, starting with Alvaro Uribe Velez, the new president of Colombia. There can hardly be another head of state with greater challenges on his hands. The country has long teetered on a precipice, assaulted by guerrillas and drug lords. Uribe seems filled with a sense of mission. Twenty years ago, his own father was killed by terroristic thugs. To say that he has a feel for the overall world situation—post–9/11—is to put it mildly. As for Mexico's President Fox, he strikes me as Reaganesque—in his person, that is. He is tall, imposing, and handsome. He's quick with a wink or a grin (or a grimace). You can see him on a horse. And yet, politically, he's something other than Reaganesque. His complaints about the U.S. are surprisingly *de rigueur* for a leader known as independent and imaginative.

But the real star of this show—certainly in the days following Mahathir of Malaysia—is Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, or simply "Lula." Sorry: "Lula!" Brazil's new chief is a one-named wonder, like Madonna, Cher, and—more to the point—"Fidel!" He is accorded a hero's welcome and rouses his audience with a zingingly socialist speech.

And on we go, with five-year plans, ten-year plans, and just plain plans. The best "plan" of all, of course, is to ensure freedom and the rule of law, letting people and peoples determine their own destinies. But, gosh, it's more fun to plan! At the opening session, the president of Switzerland called the Annual Meeting at Davos "the most important party in the world." When the hour comes to leave it, everyone's a little sad, truth to tell. But leave it we must, Committed to Improving the State of the World—or at least committed to returning next year! **NR**

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■ COVER STORY ■

The Great Game in Europe

How the U.S. can play

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

ALL great realignments are hammered out on the anvil of crisis. Ever since the end of the Cold War, both U.S. domestic politics and the shape of the West have been in an uncertain state. With socialism and statist liberalism discredited by the collapse of centrally planned economies, parties of Left and Right have been maneuvering in the dark, hoping to bump into winning issues. No one could quite define what issues would be the dividing lines between liberals and conservatives in future battles. Similarly, the West no longer had a sure instinct for what its joint interests dictated—or if indeed it any longer had joint interests in international politics. Maybe Europe and America were destined, as the French had been arguing since de Gaulle, to journey in different directions until they became rivals for world influence.

The first great post–Cold War crisis—Kuwait—seemed to refute this pessimistic Gaullism. But the second great crisis—Bosnia—amply confirmed it. Britain and France united to oppose the American approach of "lift and strike"—i.e., lift the U.N. arms embargo that effectively favored the Serb aggressors over the Bosnian victims, and strike by assisting the outgunned Bosnian forces with U.S. air sorties. Their opposition was based originally on a crude but understandable calculation that since the Serbs were bound to win anyway, we should not prolong the war by giving false hope to the Bosnians that the West would come to their aid. As the Cambridge historian Brendan Simms points out in his magisterial *Unfinest Hour: Britain and the Destruction of Bosnia*, however, this Anglo-French *Machtpolitik* was itself prolonged, indeed redoubled, long after it had become clear that the Serbs were not going to enjoy a runaway victory. London and Paris did all they could to prevent the Americans from assisting Bosnia—until their calculations were devastatingly rebuked by the course of the war itself, in which the modest U.S. and NATO intervention reversed Bosnian losses and forced the Serbs to negotiate. In persisting with their strategic and moral folly over a secondary issue, moreover, the Brits put their vital relationship with Washington to its greatest strain since Suez.

The Bosnia crisis teaches a number of lessons. It casts a harsh light on the argument that the Europeans have adopted an enlightened international ethic of rules over military force. As the bloody corpse of Bosnia circa 1994 demonstrated, a pacific multilateralism can be at least as brutal as intervention—without being as likely to attain its objective. Furthermore, the fact that Anglo-French opposition deterred Washington from its successful intervention for more than two years shows the degree to which U.S. policy can be distorted by a failure to play alliance politics effectively. And the commitment to "European" policies—generally found on the left but in the Bosnian case shared by two Tories, foreign secretary Douglas Hurd and defense secretary Malcolm Rifkind—can all too readily evolve into a carrier of anti-Americanism.

These lessons were quickly forgotten after 9/11 and the successful Afghan intervention temporarily strengthened the Atlantic alliance. For a while it seemed that "the Europeans" would back the U.S. on whatever course the war on terrorism took. Indeed, some Europeans complained about their exclusion from fighting the Afghan war. It helped that Tony Blair had succeeded the hapless Tories and was prepared to support America in a campaign against terrorism—indeed, to advance a Gladstonian moral argument for such a campaign that fitted very comfortably with the conservative Wilsonianism driving U.S. policy.

LOOKING FOR FRIENDS

September 11 also increased the relative importance of the Atlantic alliance by exposing alternatives to it as illusory. Though President Bush had come into office hoping to make Latin America a U.S. economic (and ultimately diplomatic) partner in competition with a united Europe and a Japan-led Asia, none of the Latin nations was prepared to play a forward role in helping America in the war on terror. Nor were they in much shape to do so. Latin America is currently suffering a series of economic reverses, and is retreating from its recent market reforms. Leftist governments have been installed in Venezuela and Brazil; Mexico is disappointed by the failure of the U.S. to liberalize immigration post–9/11; narco-terrorism is rampant in Colombia and reviving in Peru; and Brazil would prefer to unite Latin America around itself rather than around the U.S. With the exception of Chile, they are too embroiled in their own problems to push hard for Bush's Free Trade Area of the Americas. And even if it were to be constructed, it would bring no serious military or diplomatic benefits in its train. You

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might say that Latin America is the U.S. ally of the future—and always will be.

Russia was a different matter. Bush's personal rapport with President Putin resulted in highly useful anti-terrorist cooperation. The moral cost was high—turning a blind eye to the Russian war on Chechnya—but, unlike the *Realpolitik* of Hurd and Rifkind, it did at least achieve results. Yet there were obvious limits to the usefulness of a Russo-American alliance alone: Russia is a struggling power with a declining population, a poor economy, and weak political institutions.

In short, maintaining the alliance with Europe—and adding Russia to it—was the strategic approach plainly dictated by American interests. But then along came Iraq.

■

America and Europe see each other—not quite correctly—as representing the pro- and anti-war sides respectively on Iraq.

■

Iraq is now a crisis because Bush decided to remove Saddam Hussein before the dictator could acquire and perhaps use weapons of mass destruction. Bush's boldness may be justified—I think it is—but it is also bound to be questioned by those who prefer peace at any price (fascinatingly, the German government), by those who think arms-control procedures superior to military force (the liberal foreign-policy establishment), and by the broad Left. Such groups exist on both sides of the Atlantic, but 9/11 has cowed many Americans who generally think along such lines. The result is that opposition to the war on Iraq has been expressed most visibly and vocally in Europe. America and Europe thus see each other—not quite correctly—as representing the pro- and anti-war sides respectively on Iraq. This powerful sense is producing divisions within political parties, within individual nations, within Europe, and across the Atlantic—in short, major realignments. And how it proceeds in the next few weeks may well determine the shape of the West and of world politics for the next few decades.

REMAKING THE FOUNDATIONS

In recent weeks there have been four events, none earth-shaking in itself, but together foreshadowing great changes. First: France and Germany—seeing that they were vulnerable to being outvoted in an enlarged European Community—sought to exploit the Iraq crisis to nail down a common European foreign policy, one that would make Europe a counterweight to American power. Second: Defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld, responding to this, described France and Germany as "Old Europe," contrasting them with the new Europe of the post-Communist democracies in eastern and central Europe. Third: A letter signed by eight European leaders, including Tony Blair, called for European support for the U.S. on Iraq and the war on terrorism. Fourth: Blair and France's President Chirac agreed to significantly advance a European defense policy outside NATO—with naval cooperation as well as a European Rapid Reaction Force.

The first and fourth items in this list point to a future in which the Europeans develop a separate and rival political and military identity from the U.S. The second and third items suggest that there are forces in Europe that would prefer Europe to unite under continued American leadership. All four items suggest that although nothing is predetermined, the dividing lines would pit an alliance of the peripheral and post-Communist states against the central powers of France, Germany, and Benelux. And Item Four reminds us that Tony Blair is both a pivotal and an ambiguous figure who wants both to be "at the heart of Europe" and also America's best friend.

In other words, there is all to play for. But America will not end up with a favorable result unless Bush and his administration decide what Euro-Atlantic structure they want, and set out vigorously to achieve it. Let us now ask what it is they *should* want.

In the first place, they should want not one Europe but several. In other words, Europe should continue to integrate, but not along the simple lines of a single European structure. Instead, the U.S. should encourage the overlapping structures of a variable-geometry Europe. If we are lucky, we would end up with something like this:

One. A central core of France, Germany, Benelux, and a small number of other countries such as Austria would form, in effect, a new "European" nation-state. It would be the biggest single European country, as Germany was in the past, but it would not possess direct political power over the rest of Europe. And its indirect power and influence would be curbed by the continuing presence of the U.S.

Two. Most other European nations would be members of a European Community, something a little more than a free-trade area but less than a federation. This confederation would exercise less power over the domestic policies of its member states than Brussels does today. And it might or might not include Turkey.

Three. All European states would be members of a kind of European moral order, structured loosely around the Council of Europe and various treaties and conventions, rooted ultimately in the willingness of European states to subscribe to common rules protecting ethnic minorities, freedom of the press, border disputes, and so on.

If the U.S. wants this result, it should move diplomatically to exploit the suppressed tensions between Atlanticist Europeans and Europe Firsters. Once this dispute is out in the open, it would revive a similar debate over whether the economic structures of the EU, constructed for a smaller and more homogeneous community, are suitable for an EU that may one day cover the whole of Europe. Plainly they are not. If the U.S. were known to favor the flexible Europe described above, the disputes over foreign policy, economic policy, and the proper limits of integration might significantly enliven the convention now meeting under the chairmanship of Giscard d'Estaing—and even tilt its recommendations. With the French and Germans wishing to push ahead to full federalism, and the British and East Europeans wanting a less rigid union, the U.S. should favor a compromise that lets the former push ahead to full federal statehood in return for liberalizing the wider European community.

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AMERICA ON THE CONTINENT

Another U.S. interest—which happens to be a clear European interest as well—is that the U.S. should remain firmly rooted in Europe as a military and diplomatic leader. In current terms, that should mean two specific policies. Bush should revive the idea of the Transatlantic Free Trade Area that would unite the EU, the U.S., and Canada, and any non-EU European state that wished to join. The U.S. should also strongly discourage the development of the EU as a military power, urge the winding down of its fledgling Rapid Reaction Force, and insist that NATO be the only serious European defense force. There would be strong resistance to this pressure from the Franco-German bloc—and Blair would have to be strong-armed into changing the policy that constitutes his best claim to be a "good European." But this crucial question admits of no compromise. It should be a prime U.S. aim that the common European Security policy either fade away or become the sole responsibility of the Franco-German-Benelux federal state where, with luck and after several budgetary retrenchments, it might provide an honor guard for the rotating dual presidency in Berlin, Paris, Vienna, Brussels, and San Marino.

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The significance of the Anglosphere is modest and marginal if the U.S. pursues and achieves an Atlantic convergence.

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This entrenchment of the U.S. in Europe would pave the way for the gradual but full admission of Russia into the West. One lesson of the period from 1949 to the end of the century is that the American presence in Europe means that no European nation need fear its neighbor. All that the U.S. requires in return is a willingness to contribute to the general defense. And it has proved very lax in enforcing even that. If America is firmly anchored to the Continent, then there is no need for Europeans to fear Russia as a NATO member any more than there would be to fear a hypothetical Franco-German federal entity. And from Russia's point of view, the shrinkage of the EU as a provider of security would mean that the U.S. is the only game in town.

That would remove every objection to Russia's NATO (and wider EU) membership, save only the historical suspicion of Russia among its former satellites. What the latter want is clear evidence that Russia has abandoned its imperial nostalgia, is now firmly committed to a different course, and would not therefore use its NATO membership to obstruct American protection. According to opinion polls, generational change in Russia already seems to be producing a public opinion that is less suspicious of the West. Putin needs to build on this with such "confidence-building" methods as retiring the oligarchs from politics; protecting the freedom of the press rather than buying it up; ensuring that mafia organizations are either forced out of business or half forced, half bribed into reconstructing themselves as respectable companies; and eventually apologizing to eastern Europeans for the Stalinist occupation. Painful tasks, some of them, but worthwhile if they help to bring about a stable and prosperous Euro-Atlantic Community from Vancouver to Vladivostok.

We can reasonably assume, I think, that such a super-NATO would deal with threats to security in Europe, the Middle East, and Central Asia. But it would almost certainly hold aloof from the rest of Asia, from Australasia and the Pacific, and from Africa. Except for the former French colonies, security problems in these regions would be dealt with by the U.S. and allies chosen for each occasion, probably under the umbrella of United Nations approval. But which allies? The allies that gave the U.S. the first practical help in Afghanistan (apart from the Afghans, of course) were the U.K., New Zealand, and Australia. And, by an extraordinary coincidence, the U.S., the U.K., Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are the joint owners of the main world electronic intelligence-gathering operation, known as Echelon. The EU parliament regards this as a sinister anti-European commercial-spying operation, but the British show no signs of giving up their membership in it.

Such persistent and interesting links have led people in recent days to talk of something called "the Anglosphere"—namely the cultural sympathies, economic ties, and forms of political cooperation that link the different English-speaking countries. This even applies to countries that are, so to speak, on the margin of the Anglosphere. One of the diplomatic shifts since September 11, interestingly, is the growing de facto alliance between the U.S. and another English-speaking power, namely India. There is a growing Anglosphere solidarity outside the NATO area with investment patterns, immigration preferences, and cultural interpenetration all reflecting a burgeoning sense of common cultural identity—what one writer 100 years ago called "the moral citizenship of the English-speaking world."

The significance of this Anglosphere is, of course, modest and marginal if the U.S. pursues and achieves the Atlantic convergence outlined above. If, however, the two sides of the Atlantic gradually separate into two rival and potentially hostile superpowers, then the Anglosphere would become an important alternative to Europe as a source of diplomatic support and military assistance.

And here we return to the pivotal and ambiguous figure of Prime Minister Blair—and the Blair-Bush relationship. If Blair determines to place himself at the head of a campaign of the peripheral and post-Communist states, he can almost certainly bring about the wider Euro-Atlantic community described above. If he goes along with France and Germany in order to place himself at the heart of Europe, he will find eventually that he lacks even the limited sovereignty to join America in Anglosphere interventions outside Europe. Transatlantic relations would then become a series of Bosnian crises.

How he jumps will be decided in large measure by what pressure Bush puts upon him. And Bush himself will be subjected to pressures—from the State Department, to drift along with a European integration ultimately damaging to America; from neoconservatives, who think that Europe is anti-Semitic, anti-American, and "finished"; and from realistic Pentagon hawks, who have in the past argued against allowing a European superpower to emerge. In the midst of all these pressures, Bush will be anxious to please his loyal friend who is himself confused about what to do. On such matters do the fates of empires depend. **NR**

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Maids, Slaves, and Prisoners

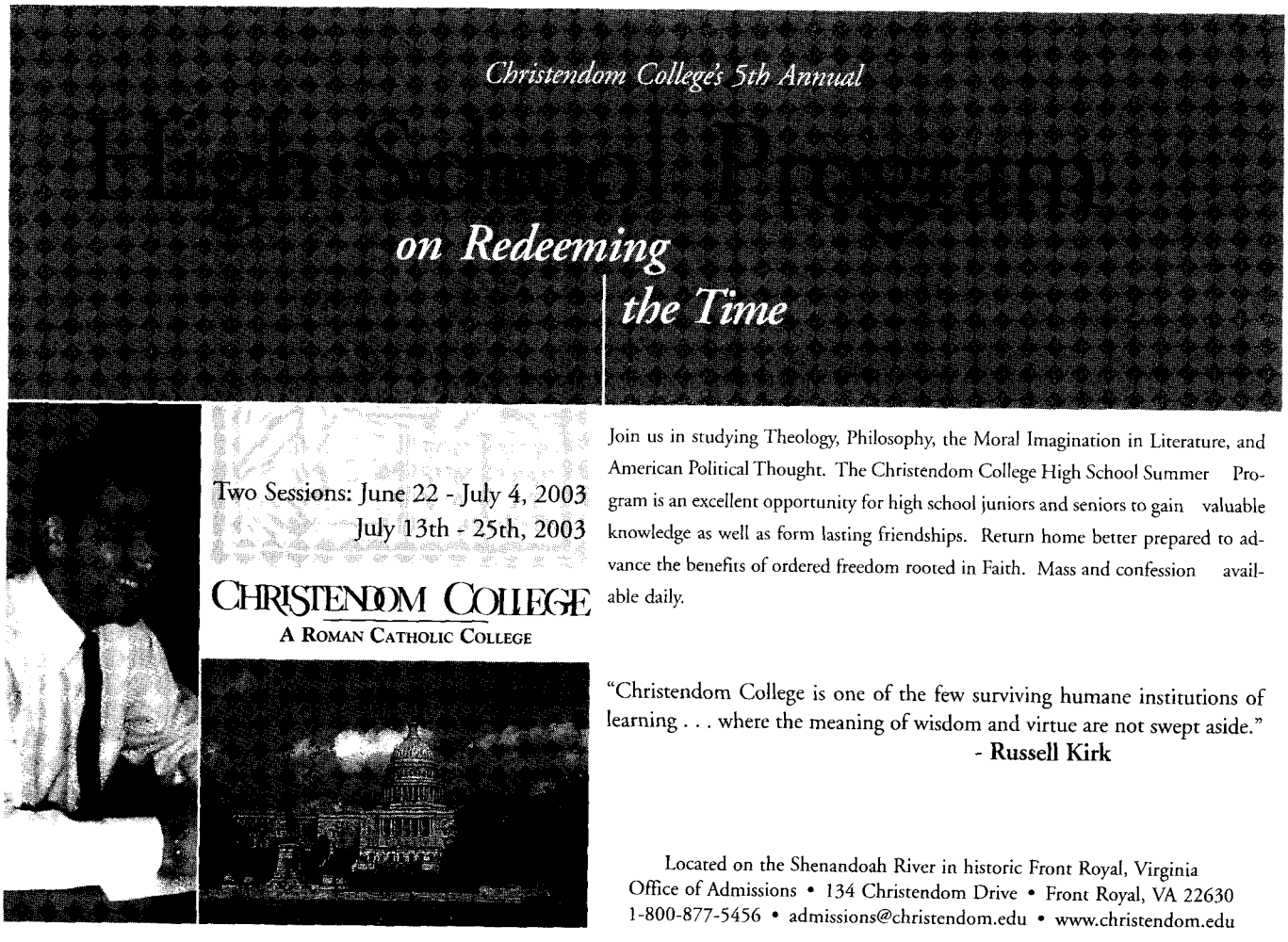
To be employed in a Saudi home

JOEL MOWBRAY

ONE night in 1998, "Saida," a young Filipina, was carried bloody and unconscious into a hospital emergency room. The Saudi man who took her there was not a Good Samaritan; he was her rapist. He was also a good friend of the Saudi couple who employed her as a domestic servant. When her employers learned of the rape, they rushed to the hospital—not to help her, but to whisk her out before she could incriminate their friend. They took her back into their abusive custody, where she was to see the rapist again.

This horror story took place not in Saudi Arabia, but in northern Virginia. Saida was relatively fortunate, in that her ordeal happened in the U.S.: When she escaped a year later, there were places where she could take refuge—something that would have been virtually impossible in Saudi Arabia. But Saida is not the only woman to be trapped and abused in a Saudi household in America. NR has spoken with a dozen such women (or, in three of the cases, their friends or attorneys), and all agree that their situations were not isolated incidents. Saudi culture, the women explain, includes dominance and abuse—and that "lifestyle" is brought to the U.S. in Saudis' baggage.

A hypothetical, but typical, tale: A woman from Indonesia comes to Saudi Arabia with the promise of $800 a month—to her, a veritable fortune—to care for several children. When she arrives, she is forced to surrender her passport to her Saudi employers—a practice protected by Saudi law—and she is immediately told that she will be responsible for cooking and cleaning as well. She earns only $200 per month, if she receives any money at all. When she gets to the house, she is forced to work 16—or more—hours a day, and her employers occasionally beat her. When there is no work left to do at this house, she is passed off like mere property to the employers' friends and relatives. Through either psychological abuse—such as being told that she will be arrested if she escapes—or being literally locked in, she is rendered unable to flee to freedom. The U.S. State Department knows that this forced servitude of women takes place in the homes of Saudis *even on American soil*—and yet refuses to take measures to combat it.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CULTURE OF REPRESSION

Tens of thousands of women are abused in Saudi Arabia each year. According to the Saudi government, some 19,000 domestic servants—almost exclusively foreign women working in Saudi Arabia as maids—escaped from Saudi homes in the twelve months prior to March 2001; the real figure is likely far higher, because the government statistic counts only those women who go to government-run shelters for "runaway" domestics. But even aside from the fact that women new to the country probably don't know the whereabouts of these shelters, the options presented to the women at the shelters are not particularly attractive. As a Saudi official explains, "The ministry provides them with food and shelter until their cases are settled by either returning them to sponsors or deporting them to their home country." In other words, the trip to the shelter results in either a return to the abusive employer, or swift deportation without receiving back pay.

More than 8 million of Saudi Arabia's 21 million residents are foreign nationals who work in largely menial or blue-collar positions. About 1 million work as domestics, such as gardeners and maids. The vast majority of the 400,000 maids are women from Asia, with most of them hailing from extremely poor countries. Women who have slim job prospects at home respond to agency-placed ads promising relatively large salaries to work in Saudi Arabia. Even though Saudi abuse of domestics is well known in these poorer countries, the women still go to the Gulf nation because—explains the Heritage Foundation's Paolo Pasicolan—"the income disparity is so huge that many women believe it is worth the risk."

Saudi Arabia abolished slavery in 1962, but it treats domestic servants in much the same way fugitive-slave laws treated blacks in pre–Civil War America. Saudi newspapers run bounty ads announcing the "escape" of domestics and requesting the help of fellow Saudis in the return of this "property." Women who do not find their way to government-run shelters—themselves viewed by human-rights experts as largely a PR ploy—face a harsh fate. Notes Amnesty International's Brian Evans: "Women who go to the police station seeking help actually get locked in jail until their employers come and pick them up."

There is a loose-knit underground railroad that helps domestics flee abusive employers. According to women who have worked in Saudi Arabia, parallel structures operate within each ethnic community, meaning Filipinos help Filipinos, Indonesians help Indonesians, and so on. Those in the best position to provide assistance are drivers, who are the best-treated domestic workers and obviously have access to transportation. Women who worked in the kingdom say that one common escape route is to hide in the trunk of a car while being driven to a safe house or directly to a port city, such as Jeddah, where they can leave the country by boat. The Saudi press—which is largely controlled by the royal family—worries about the high rate of escape among domestic workers. One commentator, Abu Adel, wrote in the English-language daily *Arab News* that the solution is more stringent law enforcement: "The police and security departments need to give greater attention to the network of escaping maids."

News of this abuse occasionally erupts in the American press—usually when Saudis bring it to the West. Last summer, King Fahd's niece, Buniah al-Saud, pled guilty to a single misdemeanor charge for pushing her Indonesian maid down a flight of stairs in her Orlando home. The princess escaped with a slap on the wrist because the victim, who had gone back to Indonesia to attend her mother's funeral, was denied a visa by the State Department to return as a witness in the trial. What did not receive much press attention, however, was the second count of the indictment: involuntary servitude. That charge was dropped as part of the plea bargain.

Three members of the Saudi royal family, including a sister of King Fahd, were caught up in a scandal five years ago in London for their treatment of three Filipina women. The women sued the Saudi royals, alleging that they had been physically abused, starved, and held against their will in the Saudis' mansion in London. The Filipinas said they were often locked in the attic, were fed mere scraps of food, and were denied medical attention when they became gravely ill.

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THREE BRAVE WOMEN

Stories like this one—and like that of "Saida," above—are far too common among Saudis in the U.S. Although every individual situation has its unique aspects, most situations involving domestics working for Saudis have seven hallmarks: confiscation of passports, contract terms unilaterally changed, overlong working hours, denial of medical attention, verbal and often physical abuse, a prison-like atmosphere, and—in the cases of the women able to speak with NR—dramatic escapes. All of the women with whom we spoke worked in the U.S., although some first worked inside Saudi Arabia; the women who worked in both countries said their conditions did not improve once in the U.S. Three of the stories are particularly compelling—and sadly representative. (Because the women fear reprisal from politically connected Saudis, NR is respecting their wish to be identified by aliases.)

When she stepped off the airplane in Saudi Arabia, the very first thing Maryam, a Filipina Muslim, did was surrender her passport to her new employers. Even before she reached their residence, she was told that she was going to receive only $150 of the $600 per month agreed to in the contract. Work at the mansion—her employer was a dignitary who often had famous guests, including Muhammad Ali—lasted from dawn until late in the evening, with the only "time off" a brief period each Sunday. If she finished work ahead of schedule, she was "lent" to the employers' friends and relatives. Although she was not physically or sexually abused—she believes she was spared because she is a Muslim—Maryam was repeatedly scolded and denied the ability to contact her family back in the Philippines. After two years—when the contract had officially expired—Maryam wanted to return home, but because of the dramatically reduced pay, she didn't have the money to do so. She demanded that the employers pay for her travel back—something they were contractually obligated to do—but the only option they gave her was to go to with their son's family to the U.S. She

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accepted, believing that working in America would be better. It wasn't.

At her new employers' home in a college town in Illinois—the husband and wife were both college students—Maryam was denied a bed and forced to sleep on the hard floor. Because she could read and speak English, her new employers would hide newspapers from her to keep her ignorant of the outside world. She was still forbidden to contact her family, and was prohibited from talking on or even answering the telephone. Just as in Saudi Arabia, she was passed off to the employers' friends, leaving her precious little time for sleep. She was lucky; an associate of her employer who came into contact with Maryam would eventually help her escape.

Like Maryam, Fatima was a Filipina Muslim. She, too, answered an agency ad to work in Saudi Arabia. She signed on to be an English tutor; but when she arrived, she reports, "I was turned into the maid and butler, as well." She soon came to regret her decision: At one point she had a serious ear infection, with a 104° fever. Her employers would not take her to the hospital or even allow her to see a doctor—they insisted, rather, that she clean their very large and elegant bathroom. To this day, Fatima has chronic migraines and ear infections as a result of not receiving treatment.

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Beaten, starved, and sleep-deprived, Kaswanti made her way to a neighboring apartment building. She curled up in a hallway, shivering, until someone found and rescued her.

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When Fatima worked for Saudis in the U.S.—a diplomat's family in northern Virginia—the doors were locked inside-out *and* outside-in, making it impossible for her to exit the house. When she demanded her back pay at the end of the contract term—she was paid only $200 of the contracted $800 per month, and hadn't been paid at all in the previous three months—the female Saudi employer accused her of stealing. To "prove" that Fatima was a thief, the woman had her strip naked, place the palms of her hands against the wall, and spread her feet apart. The Saudi woman proceeded invasively to search Fatima's body. After that, Fatima decided to escape; but it would take several attempts over three months before she proved successful.

When the four children for whom she was responsible had Saudi playmates over, Fatima "interviewed" the other children. Over the course of the afternoon, Fatima learned three vital pieces of information: 1) that their nanny was a Filipina; 2) their mother's work schedule; and 3) their home phone number. After Fatima eventually managed to swipe a key—allowing the employers to blame a four-year-old Saudi child with a penchant for picking up and moving or hiding random objects, including keys—she called the Filipina nanny. They agreed to meet at a Metro station in suburban Maryland. The woman agreed to wait for Fatima for one hour—a deadline Fatima barely met, since a Saudi friend of her employer had given chase to the cab that was Fatima's "escape vehicle."

A third woman—Kaswanti, a Muslim from Indonesia—has a similar story. She also toiled in a Saudi diplomat's D.C.-area home—and was literally worked so continuously that she was never afforded time to bathe or change into clean clothes. (She was, in fact, not "allowed" to do either.) During her one horrifying month in the U.S., Kaswanti lived in total fear: If she was caught eating or sleeping—both of which were prohibited—she was beaten. When she did eat, it was snacking on scraps when no one was looking.

Kaswanti, too, decided to escape. Beaten, starved, and sleep-deprived, she made her way to a neighboring apartment building. She curled up in a hallway, shivering, until someone found and rescued her.

THE RESCUERS?

The Saudi culture of abuse is well known to officials at the U.S. State Department. Diplomatic Security (DS), State's law-enforcement arm, has received "many" calls from police stations over the years about Saudi diplomats abusing domestic workers, says a DS officer who spoke on condition of anonymity. Human-rights activists have also worked tirelessly to make State fully aware of the problem—but to little effect. "'We' don't want to anger those who are politically connected, such as the Saudis, so the State Department chooses not to provide oversight . . . It's appalling," says human-rights attorney Jean Bruggeman.

Activists familiar with the abuse of domestics say that there are many simple measures that could considerably improve the current state of affairs. The easiest reform would be for State to do something it currently does not: make domestic workers fully aware of their rights—in their native language—before they receive visas. Consular officers should inform women that no employer has the right to seize passports, and that changing contract terms to pay less than minimum wage is illegal. Women should also be counseled about how to seek help if they are abused, and told that going to the authorities does not necessarily result in deportation. Something that would be more involved—and more expensive—would be to have a monitoring system like the one that is currently in place for au pairs, whose employers are subject to random, monthly check-ins. Such a step would not be a panacea—abuse is often well hidden—but it would be a dramatic improvement.

The silver lining, as far as many human-rights activists are concerned, is that the Department of Justice has demonstrated a willingness to fight the abuse of domestic workers. "The DOJ has been very supportive on the cases where we've worked with them," notes attorney Lisa Johnson-Firth, who has helped many domestic and migrant workers who have fled servitude. DOJ's number-three official, Viet Dinh, has taken a personal interest in the issue, according to associates.

All of the women with whom NR spoke have recovered remarkably well, considering what they have been through. Most are still experiencing the after-effects of trauma, but almost all of them are engaged or married, and all feel blessed to live in the United States. Amazingly, when asked if she would do it all over again, Maryam echoes the sentiments expressed by the other women: "I would do it again, because I am in America. This is freedom. I am living in freedom." **NR**

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Get Your Wonder Drugs!

But do you know what it takes to produce them?

JOHN J. MILLER

HARRY HOWARD almost made the biggest blunder of his life when he tossed the building blocks of a wonder drug into a laboratory trash bag 14 years ago. He had just created a new molecule at Pfizer's research building in Groton, Conn.—a molecule that had never existed before and that, he hoped, might eventually prove useful in treating schizophrenia. After running a test on it, Howard poured the contents of a test tube through a filter and into a flask. Then he threw out the filter and examined the liquid left behind. It didn't seem to have any of the properties he had expected. Oh well, he thought, chemicals can do weird things.

The next day, however, it occurred to him that perhaps he was looking in the wrong place. "It's a good thing I hadn't taken the trash out," he says, "because my compound was stuck in that filter."

Over the course of the next decade, Pfizer would invest hundreds of millions of dollars in what Howard yanked from the trash. Today, his compound is called Geodon. It went on the market almost two years ago and, by most accounts, it's one of the best medications available to people with schizophrenia. Pfizer won't say exactly how much money it poured into Geodon, but one estimate says a successful drug can require an investment of $800 million before the Food and Drug Administration will approve it. There are thousands of failures for every success—and somehow Pfizer must pay for them as well.

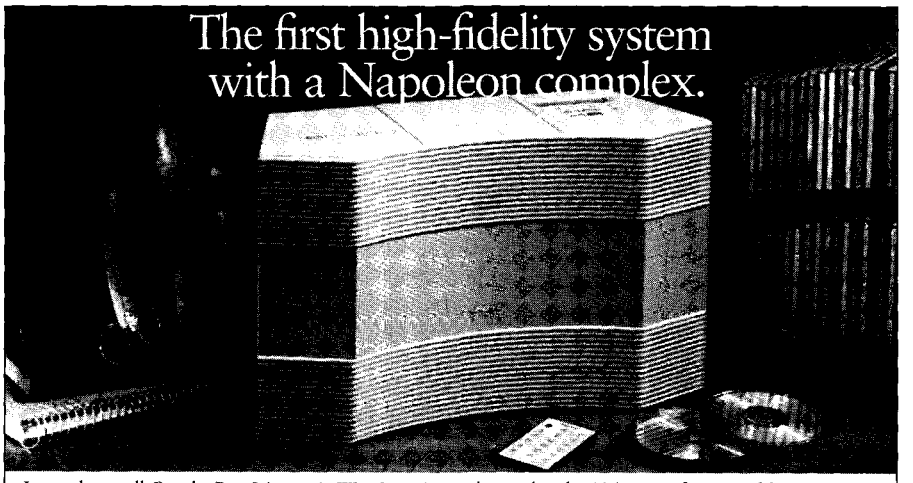
In a good year, Pfizer might win approval for one or two brand-new products. It then has only a short time to earn back what it has invested. Geodon's patent, for instance, expires in March 2007, at which point generic copies will begin to flood the pharmacy shelves. By then, Pfizer will have had just six years to pay for the huge costs that went into making Geodon. The company estimates that it spends $100 million on research and development *per week*. Within the next five years, it will lose the patents for four of its eight most popular drugs.

NOT FROM TREES

Everybody loves wonder drugs, but nobody seems to want to pay for them. One industry-sponsored poll revealed that 90 percent of Americans believe the price of prescription drugs is a "major problem" and 60 percent support outright price controls. Few people appreciate that innovation doesn't come cheap, especially when drugs must pass through expensive regulatory hurdles meant to test their safety and effectiveness. Wonder drugs may seem like miracles, but they don't rain down upon us like manna. Producing even one requires a monumental effort.

Perhaps nothing can illustrate this point better than a story, and Geodon's story begins with the problem of schizophrenia. "It's one of the worst mental diseases out there," says Steven Romano, a Pfizer psychiatrist. Schizophrenics suffer from hallucinations, delusions, and social withdrawal, among other symptoms. Some 2 million Americans have the disease, and many of them can't hold down a regular job: John Nash, the Princeton mathematician portrayed by Russell Crowe in the movie *A Beautiful Mind*, may be this country's best-known schizophrenic. "It has exacerbations and remissions, but it's chronic—it's always there, and there's no cure," says Romano.

The earliest drugs for schizophrenia could control the hallucinations and delusions, but only at the cost of grisly side effects, such as severe muscular tremors. During the 1970s and 1980s, scientists began looking for alternatives, and Geodon had its origins in this broad effort. By the early 1990s, new products that didn't make muscles go haywire were on the market,



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but these had their own downsides, such as sharp weight gain. As a result, many schizophrenics were getting their main symptoms under control, only to quit their meds because they didn't like the side effects.

Harry Howard was one of several Pfizer employees in the 1980s charged with producing compounds that might improve the treatment of schizophrenics. "Discovery" scientists like Howard spend their days assembling molecules that have never existed before and then seeing how they behave in test tubes. "This part of the process is all about creativity," says Stevin Zorn, who led much of the Geodon research. "There's no cookbook on how to make a successful compound. It's art as much as science."

It's also drudgery. Even after Howard had constructed the original Geodon molecule—code-named CP88059—his creation faced long odds. "For every 150,000 compounds our scientists create, we figure one of them will make it to the marketplace," says Derek Leishman, a pharmacologist with Pfizer in England. It's so rare for a compound to make it to the shelves, in fact, that many discovery scientists will spend their entire careers working on compounds that never become approved drugs.

■

Many scientists will spend their entire careers working on compounds that never become approved drugs.

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When a compound looks promising in the test tubes, Pfizer scientists begin putting it into animals—mostly mice, rats, and dogs. They want to make sure their proto-drug isn't toxic. They're also looking for clues about how it might act in humans. With CP88059, scientists were hoping to spot muscle rigidity, a negative side effect that had been associated with other successful antipsychotic medications. But they found nothing of the sort, which suggested that CP88059 might be a different breed of drug. By this point, in 1989, it was time for Geodon to "get canned."

This is an important milestone, as a compound moves from one side of the R&D ampersand to the other. It's called "getting canned" because the company puts out a "Candidate Alert Notice" (CAN)—basically an all-points bulletin announcing that the drug has cleared its first set of obstacles. Yet the most challenging phase still lies ahead: Fewer than 10 percent of canned compounds ever make it to the marketplace.

The discovery scientists had produced a fine, white powder that looked similar to flour. But one of the great predicaments companies like Pfizer face consists in moving from the pure science of compound creation to the applied science of developing a form of the drug that patients can use, such as a pill or capsule. The final product must be able to survive on the shelf for a couple of years, remain stable in hot and cold temperatures, and deliver enough punch in a single dose that patients won't have to pop pills a dozen times a day.

This step is harder than it sounds, but it's essential to the pharmaceutical business—and it's in this area that Pfizer made its first great contribution to humanity. In 1928, Alexander Fleming found that a common airborne mold known as *penicillium* could vanquish pneumonia and scarlet fever—but only in a petri dish. He had enormous trouble preserving the mold's active substance. It wasn't until the Second World War that anybody was able to produce penicillin in a useful form. Pfizer was the company that figured out how to do it.

Pfizer faced this same challenge with Geodon—converting a known substance into a product people could actually use. "It took us two years to learn how to get it into patients, and then a few more years of optimizing," says Bijan Rasadi, one of Pfizer's chief pharmaceutical scientists. The entire development process took nine years.

TESTING, TESTING

A canned compound eventually graduates to clinical testing, when it's put into humans for the first time. The first phase of Geodon's clinical trials began in 1991 and, as first phases always do, it involved a few dozen healthy subjects—non-schizophrenics who were willing to serve as human guinea pigs. The point of these initial tests isn't to see whether a drug works, but to determine whether it's safe for human consumption. "Geodon's first phase was uneventful," says Rachel Swift, Pfizer's executive director of clinical development. That was precisely the news she wanted to hear.

Once a drug's safety has been established in Phase One, scientists next examine its efficacy. These Phase Two trials typically involve several hundred people affected by the problem the drug is supposed to address. Researchers are generally confident that their drug will have *some* effect, but they need to determine ideal dosage levels.

Geodon's Phase Two trials were also uneventful—perhaps a bit too much so. Pfizer's R&D scientists saw that Geodon was helping patients, but it didn't outperform existing medications. If Geodon were ever to make it to the marketplace, it would require yet more investment, and at the end of the process there still had to be a reasonable hope that it would generate revenue. A redundant drug wouldn't. There was a strong case for putting the brakes on Geodon. This is a fairly common occurrence even for drugs that enter the second phase of clinical testing.

Yet Pfizer was also hearing from doctors involved in the trials that compliance was up. Geodon patients weren't putting on the kind of weight associated with other treatments. If this drug were able to delete that side effect, the researchers thought, then perhaps they really had something.

At the end of Phase Two trials, the white lab coats sit down with the suits, which is to say the development team presents the results to the company management (who are generally scientists themselves), and they debate whether to move forward. The third and final phase of clinical trials is incredibly expensive, so the decision at this stage is momentous.

Geodon got the green light. If it succeeded during Phase Three, the FDA would approve it and doctors would be allowed to prescribe it. Planning these tests is no small chore: Geodon's trials involved 15,000 patients at locations around the world. It took a year just to develop all of the necessary protocols. It took nearly three years to complete the testing.

Once more, Geodon appeared to deliver. Pfizer concluded

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that it was safe and effective—the two key ingredients of FDA approval. It was also an improvement over earlier products. "I had put on 100 pounds with other drugs," says Meghan Caughey, a 47-year-old patient who participated in Phase Three tests. "As soon as I started Geodon, I began to lose weight."

Pfizer believed it had a winner. On St. Patrick's Day in 1997, employees loaded a large Ryder truck with documents and two senior executives drove it to the FDA's headquarters in Maryland. For nearly a year, the FDA would study Geodon's test results and look for problems.

At Pfizer's R&D building in Groton, champagne bottles sat beside a fax machine on the day in February 1998 when the FDA had promised a ruling. Some 1,600 people at facilities around the world had worked on the drug for 15 years, and at long last they were going to win approval.

Or so they thought. But the letter from FDA announced that Geodon was not approved. "Everybody was blown away," says Zorn. This was the worst of all possible results, like a marathoner falling down a few yards shy of the finish line.

The FDA was concerned with something called the QTc interval, which, roughly speaking, is the amount of time it takes for a heart to contract and pump blood. The Phase Three trials had revealed that Geodon lengthens the QTc interval in patients, leading to a type of irregular heartbeat that can cause death. Pfizer had detected the problem, but didn't think the risk was significant. The FDA disagreed.

Pfizer was forced to confront the awful possibility that it had invested more than a decade of brainpower and hundreds of millions of dollars to develop a glorified rat poison. "It was frustrating to be turned down," says Swift, "because it felt like we had this drug that was really going to help a lot of people, but that we'd somehow stepped into a black hole."

GETTING IT JUST RIGHT

At this point, Pfizer went back and studied the detailed patient narratives it had compiled in Phase Three. Company scientists determined that there was no evidence of increased heart problems among Geodon patients, even though the QTc interval had changed in many of them. So Pfizer decided to gamble: It would attempt to show that the QTc interval was no cause for alarm. This would require yet another test, and a complicated one at that. Pfizer located 150 healthy schizophrenics—a hard population to track down—and got them to agree to a massive study that would involve frequent blood tests and strict diets; the subjects would also have to live in a hospital. All of this was necessary, because Pfizer scientists were going to perform tests gauging changes in the heart rate that last mere milliseconds. "There was a great deal of debate about whether to proceed, because there were no guarantees," says Swift. "The company has a finite amount of resources, and the money invested in one project can't be used for another."

This last test took a year to complete—and the FDA took another year to examine the results. It then convened a nonbinding advisory committee, which ruled heavily in Geodon's favor. Since the drug's patent had been established years earlier, every delay shortened the amount of time the company would have to recoup its investment in Geodon. Finally, on February 5, 2001, Geodon was approved, and Pfizer launched it the following month.

Since then, some 350,000 people have taken Geodon, mostly in the form of a little blue-and-white capsule. "We're seeing a dramatic difference in quality of life—schizophrenics can do things physically that they weren't able to do before," says Romano. That's good not only for patients, but for the rest of us, too. A study in the *New England Journal of Medicine* found that access to antipsychotic drugs like Geodon was closely linked to health-care costs; schizophrenics who don't take medication (or perhaps ignore their prescriptions to avoid side effects) are much more likely to require expensive hospital treatment.

Still, there's plenty left undone. About one-third of schizophrenics don't appear to be helped by Geodon, for reasons that aren't entirely clear. "It's also not a cure," says Jim Heym, a Pfizer vice president. With the advent of computer-aided drug design, plus full access to the human genome, researchers at Pfizer are hopeful that they'll continue to improve the treatment of schizophrenics. They also believe they're on the cusp of gains in fighting everything from Alzheimer's disease to cancer—but only if they're allowed to generate enough revenue for them to continue investing in the next generation of wonder drugs.

In the meantime, Geodon patients are just glad they can control their symptoms. Around the time of Geodon's release, Pfizer recorded a videotape of patients describing their problems—and how Geodon had improved their lives. Stevin Zorn pulled aside Harry Howard, the man who had built the first Geodon molecule, and who had moved on to other projects many years earlier. "I put the tape in the machine and pressed play," recalls Zorn. "The daughter of a woman named Brenda came on the screen. She had been asked what she would say to the creator of Geodon, if he were sitting right in front of you. She started to tear up, and exclaimed, 'I would grab him and hug him and they'd probably think I'm crazy but I do want to thank them from the bottom of my heart because I have my mom back.'" Harry Howard started to tear up, too. **NR**

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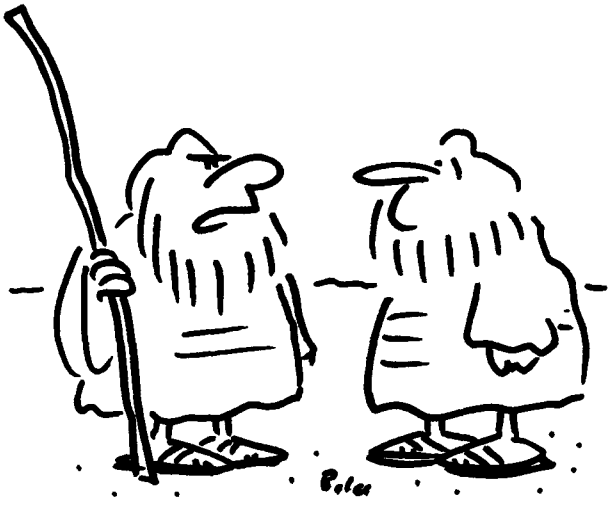

"I finally get the darn thing figured out, and now they come up with a New Testament*."*

Negative Fallout

A cloud no bigger than a hand
Floats in the sky and grows:
The elderly, well organized,
Abhor all HMOs.
The president prescribes a bill
That dangles discount drugs,
But breaks the tie with family docs . . .
Don't mess with us old plugs.

—W. H. von Dreele

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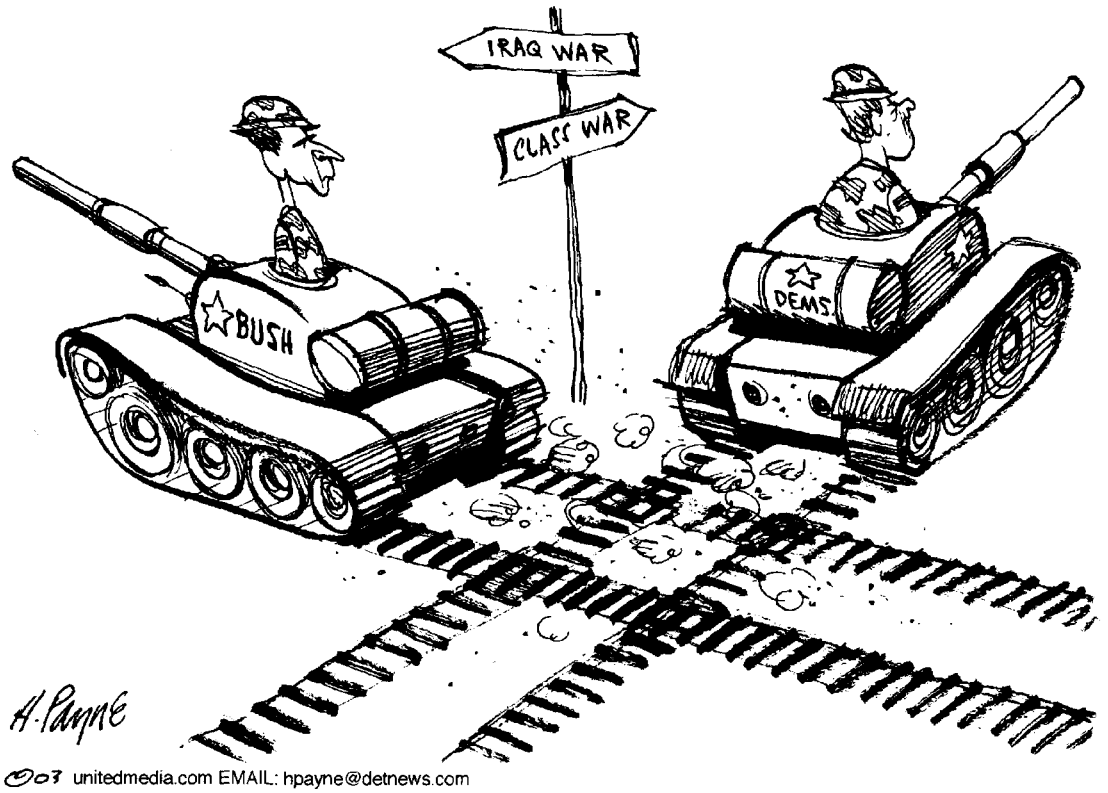

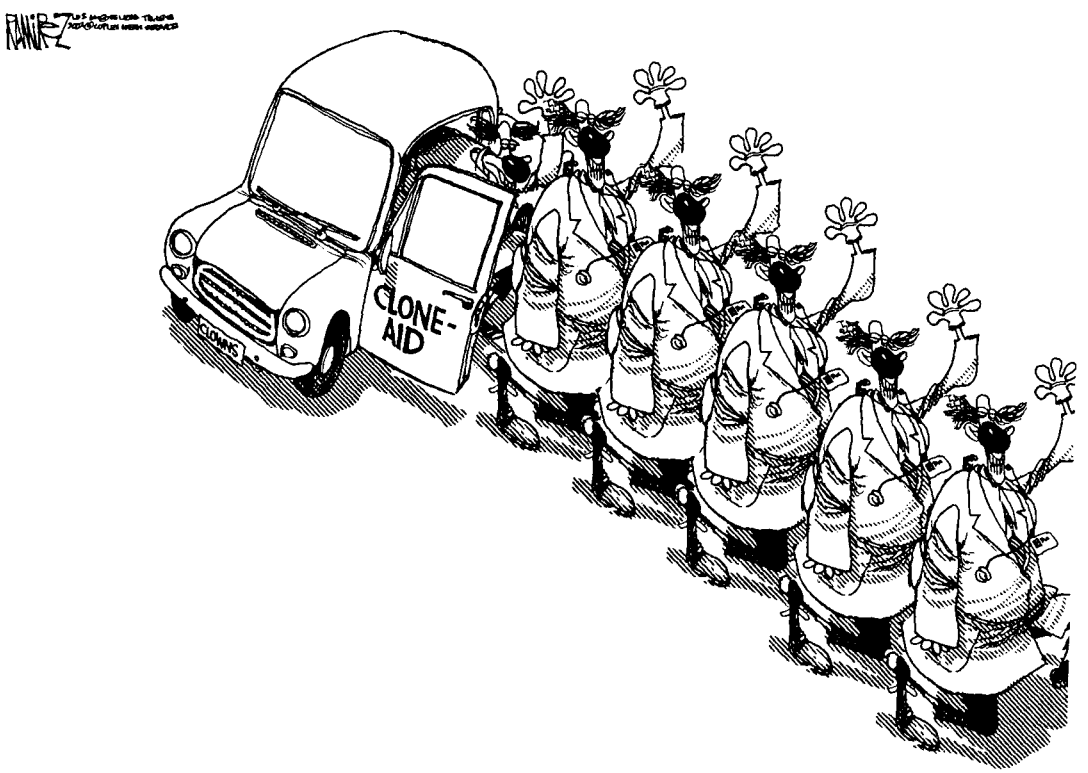

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THE LONG VIEW

By Rob Long

From *Le In-Box* of *Le Président de la République*

TO: jchirac@wanadoo.co.fr
FROM: herrschroeder@aol.com
SUBJ: I am feeling a bit *glumptecktikvrauzenheit*

Jacques:

I have just read the statement by the so-called nations of so-called Europe in support of the Bush policy towards Iraq. It filled me with *fraheurinwümpfgersnicht* and also some *bauernfrüstuklinstkölnhollern*. I fear we may end up being isolated, with the rest of the world against us. Also: I did not appreciate Rumsfeld's comments about "old Europe." It gave me a terrible feeling of *klavernsmellichtweis* in my left toe. Perhaps we need to change our policy?

Gerhard

P.S. Ignore the comment above about my left toe. It turns out my sandal strap was too tight.

TO: herrschroeder@aol.com
FROM: jchirac@wanadoo.co.fr
SUBJ: Our enduring and longstanding friendship

My dear Gerhard:

What has troubled you? That trifling and absurd statement by the *petits pois* of Europe? Banish them from your mind, my old friend. This morning, as I was bravely spooning *confiture de fraises de bois* on my *tartine*, I reflected upon this very eventuality, and I came to the proper conclusion: These tiny nations tremble before a France and a Germany united to one purpose. For so long, my *bel ami allemand*, we two nations have been at war, invading each other, threatening each other—well, of course, when I say *each other* I trust you know what I mean—that news of our harmony has made our little friends nervous. They are nervous, *mon ami*, because a combination of German diplomacy and French courage cannot but be the thing that . . . wait a minute. *Un moment, s'il te plaît* . . . a combination of French resolve and German strategic . . . wait a minute. One more time. A combination of French strength and German intellectual . . . *zut!* Look, Gerhard, just trust me, okay? We need to stand together.

Jacques

TO: jchirac@wanadoo.co.fr
FROM: cpowell@deptstate.gov
SUBJ: Recent French statements

Dear Mr. President:

I am concerned that recent French statements have categorically ruled out the possibility of French support for a possible military operation to resolve the crisis in Iraq. If this is the case, then you will understand our reluctance to spend time trying to garner such support. Please clarify.

Colin

TO: cpowell@deptstate.gov
FROM: jchirac@wanadoo.co.fr
SUBJ: RE: Recent French statements

My dear Colin,

Perhaps I haven't made France's position clear enough. For that, I apologize. France's position is, and has always been, that we will ultimately support an American-led military operation in Iraq. I hope that clarifies things . . .

Jacques

TO: jchirac@wanadoo.co.fr
FROM: herrschroeder@aol.com
SUBJ: What is this that I hear?

What is this that I hear from the Americans? That you are now *in favor* of the Iraq war? Looking forward to your response,

Gerhard

TO: herrschroeder@aol.com
FROM: jchirac@wanadoo.co.fr
SUBJ: RE: What is this that I hear?

Gerhard:

Calm yourself. There has been no shift in France's position. We remain completely and unalterably opposed to any military action with regard to Iraq. Remember, *mon cher* Chancellor, we must stick together.

Jacques

TO: jchirac@wanadoo.co.fr
FROM: cpowell@deptstate.gov
SUBJ: See attached files
ATTACHMENTS:
Iraqevidence.doc; satellite1.jpg

Look forward to hearing your response.

Colin

TO: cpowell@deptstate.gov
FROM: jchirac@wanadoo.co.fr
SUBJ: Our enduring and longstanding friendship

My dear Colin:

I am, of course, somewhat persuaded by your new evidence and its presentation. As you know, France has always been a staunch ally of the United States. But we do reserve the right to make up our own minds. Schroeder is being quite inflexible, as I'm sure you understand. But never let it be said that France is inflexible. Rest assured that if the United States goes to war, we will support it with all of our resources.

Jacques

TO: jchirac@wanadoo.co.fr
FROM: husseinman1441@aol.com
SUBJ: ????

J:

It goes without saying that we're grateful for your help so far in re nuclear materials and dirty bomb options. Can we count on your support if it comes to war?

Saddam

TO: husseinman1441@aol.com
FROM: jchirac@wanadoo.co.fr
SUBJ: RE: ????

Dear Mr. President:

Trust us. If it comes to war, we'll be right there . . .

Jacques

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The Book on Bush

LOU CANNON

The Right Man: The Surprise Presidency of George W. Bush, by David Frum (Random House, 303 pp., $25.95)

FOUR decades ago, former White House speechwriter Emmett Hughes caused a stir in Washington with a thoughtful memoir of the Eisenhower presidency called *The Ordeal of Power*. The book was reflective and respectful; it was a sensation because Hughes had violated a prevailing taboo by writing candidly about the president. Former White House aides were then the Washington equivalent of indentured servants: If they wrote memoirs—and most didn't—they were expected to extol the virtues of the president they had served. The model of the hagiographic genre was *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, a worshipful memoir by the playwright Robert Sherwood, an intimate of President Franklin Roosevelt.

When the presidency plummeted in public esteem after Vietnam and Watergate, the genre disintegrated. Beginning with Lyndon Johnson, former officials distanced themselves from their presidents in attempts to salvage their own reputations (think Robert McNamara) or bolster their bank accounts. Johnson, Nixon, Ford, and Carter were pilloried, psychoanalyzed, and patronized by ex-aides in ways that Eisenhower would have found unimaginable. Ronald Reagan restored order to the presidency but not the genre. "Kick-and-tell" memoirs, to use Kenneth

Mr. Cannon is the author of four biographies of Ronald Reagan, including *President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime*. He is currently writing a book about Reagan's governorship.

By Roman Genn

Adelman's phrase, flourished during the Reagan years and continued through the Bush and Clinton presidencies. Their recurrent theme was that [Name of President] had failed the nation because he was not wise enough to follow the advice of his former aide, the author (think David Stockman or George Stephanopoulos).

David Frum's memoir of the early presidency of George W. Bush is a welcome throwback. He does for Bush what Hughes did for Eisenhower, which is to assess his suitability for the presidency in terms of character, temperament, and vision. Bush admires Eisenhower: He put a picture of Ike on the wall in the cabinet room and a bronze bust of him in the Oval Office. As Frum sees it, "Eisenhower represented the kind of president that Bush wanted to be—a leader above party, a leader who drew his power from personal authority." Bush also was determined to make nonpartisanship work. He named a Democrat to his cabinet, attended Democratic congressional retreats, and declined to criticize Democrats by name.

This spirit of nonpartisanship is genuine, but Frum thinks it led Bush astray. He specifically blames it for the "fiasco" of Bush's half-baked energy policy, bipartisan only in the sense that it infuriated everyone. Hughes reached a similar conclusion about Eisenhower's bipartisanship. Democrats took advantage of his decency, and bipartisanship undermined his attempts to rejuvenate the Republican party.

For both presidents, however, character trumps political deficiencies. Ike, said Hughes, "gave uncompromising scorn to all temptations of expediency." Bush, says Frum, has been "dauntless, far-seeing, and consistent" in standing up to terrorism. But up close, again like Ike, Bush is not as pleasant as he seems to outsiders. Frum finds him "tart, not sweet," a welcome exception to the "White House code of niceness."

Then there is the theme of Bush's alleged dim-wittedness, standard fodder for comedians. As a writer who has spent a chunk of his career trying to explain that Ronald Reagan really was intelligent but in a different way from other politicians, I am sympathetic to Frum's valiant struggle on this score. Bush has a poor memory for figures (unlike Reagan). In every conversation, he makes "at least one jaw-droppingly candid remark—a brutally frank assessment of some foreign leader or an expression of doubt about some program to which he is publicly committed." Nonetheless, and very much like Reagan, Bush is focused on large goals. "Bush was not a lightweight," Frum writes. "He was, rather, a very unfamiliar type of heavyweight. Words often failed him, his memory sometimes betrayed him, but his vision was large and clear. And when he perceived new possibilities, he had the courage to act."

Bush's courage and resolve were apparent to the nation in the grim days after 9/11. His "great gift" to America in this crisis, Frum writes, was calm and self-restraint. "He seemed to feel not the rage that the rest of the country felt, but the quiet determination he knew it ought to feel. He made it clear to his writers that he would pronounce no words of vengeance or anger. When he spoke off-the-cuff, he again and again paraphrased the com-

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mandment of Romans 12:21: 'Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.'"

Bush's interpretation of this maxim caused some foot shuffling at both ends of the ideological spectrum. The Left fretted about a loss of civil liberties, while the Right suspected that Bush was naïve about Islamic anti-Americanism. Bush was concerned about the possibility of hate crimes against Muslims after 9/11 and expressed this after his visit to a Washington mosque: "Those who feel they can intimidate our fellow citizens to take out their anger don't represent the best of America, they represent the worst of humankind." But the president backed legislation that expanded the power of the federal government to arrest people on suspicion, and most of those detained were Muslims. Bush also agreed to freeze the assets of the nation's largest Muslim charity because of its record of supporting the terrorist group Hamas. "In the end," Frum writes, "Bush was simultaneously generous and respectful toward the Islamic faith and unillusioned about and unwilling to appease domestic Muslim organizations. Some critics on the Right thought that the second set of impulses conflicted with the first. Many on the Left thought that the first was nothing more than a cynical cover for the second. Bush never understood why he could not honor both impulses at the same time."

As these and other passages in *The Right Man* suggest, Frum has left the White House without the White House leaving him. Frum is no apologist for Bush on domestic issues, but he is loyal to the point of defensiveness when it comes to foreign policy or national security. He goes out of his way, for instance, to say that Bush's support of Israel in resisting terrorism has nothing to do with the "Jewish lobby." Is that really true, and if so, why *shouldn't* the Jewish lobby have some say? In another context Frum does not hesitate to observe that Bush knew when he advocated tolerance toward Muslims that "Muslim votes may have tipped the balance of the election" that made him president.

Frum is a gifted polemicist, as he demonstrated with *Dead Right*, his critique of the conservative movement. *The Right Man* is less tightly organized and veers back and forth between assessments of Bush and his staff and anecdotes from Frum's early days in the White House. Frum keenly analyzes the attributes of key aides Karl Rove and Karen Hughes. Despite an obvious preference for Rove, he shows how each of them, in very different ways, made vital contributions to the Bush presidency. Otherwise, he pretty much brushes off the staff, with the exception of Condoleezza Rice, the national security adviser, who comes off as fair-minded and disciplined. "She practiced an almost steely discretion—which it was part of her charm to let slip from time to time," Frum writes. Preparing for a meeting with unnamed foreign dignitaries after 9/11, she asked her scheduler, "So which thugs have you got for me to meet?"

Frum's claim to fame as a speechwriter was that he was the inspiration for Bush's famous linkage of Iraq, Iran, and North Korea as the "axis of evil." In Frum's draft the phrase was "axis of hatred" and included Iraq and Iran, the latter apparently at the behest of Rice. Michael Gerson, the head speechwriter, changed "hatred" to "evil." It isn't clear from the book, or perhaps to Frum, how North Korea became a part of the axis. And Frum doesn't make much of a case for it. He says Bush was doing what Reagan did in bluntly describing the nature of the Soviet Union. But when Reagan called the Soviet Union an "evil empire," he didn't throw in China or North Korea just for the heck of it. Bush is right to see all three regimes as "evil," but the "axis" part of the formulation remains a head-scratcher.

Frum is at his best when he applies his powers of observation to Bush: "George W. Bush is a very unusual political person: a good man who is not a weak man. . . . He has many faults. He is impatient and quick to anger; sometimes glib, even dogmatic, often uncurious and as a result ill-informed; more conventional in his thinking than a leader probably should be. But outweighing the faults are his virtues: decency, honesty, rectitude, courage, and tenacity."

In Frum's view the Bush presidency was stumbling toward obscurity until 9/11, when Bush rose to the occasion and became an effective wartime president. Leadership remains an elusive mystery of politics, but Bush is certainly a leader. Frum makes a persuasive case that Bush, for all his faults, is the right president to lead our country in these perilous times. **NR**

LOOKING WEST
Academy Cemetery

If you were to look due west from the big stone
that says SIMPSON you would still see the corral
that held the yearlings we branded in the spring.
It's right below the redbud by the fence.
Of course, most of the stones up there say Simpson,
but I mean the one on the north end, under the oak.
Standing there you can see where it all took place.
Each animal was thrown down hard and stretched
by ropes from its feet to saddle horns, the horses
backing up in opposite directions,
or else each bull was squeezed into a shute
that closed around its body and cuffed its head.
One of my brothers would cut a notch in an ear,
while another cut the two horns down to hair
and dabbed the holes with tar to stop the bleeding.
Another kept the brands hot in a fire
and seared a CH on each animal's hide.
The brother most like me backed up my job:
keeper of the gate. We'd let the bellowers
back into the fields, and they'd run free,
shaking their hornless heads, down to the creek.
Our father, whose stone is also under the oak,
would reach up under their hind legs, and with one
half turn of his wrist, slice off the testicles
and sling them off the blade of his pocket knife
onto a makeshift hotplate by his feet,
a motion so easy you'd think he was brushing away
flies.
And when the severed sacs spit and sprayed,
curling and circling as if to escape the fire,
he'd laugh and wink, his mouth watering
for mountain oysters. Seeing the look on my face,
he'd glance down, somewhere near his boots,
his hat hiding his face, and I'd glance up
toward a hawk circling above Dry Creek
and watch it dip and glide over the tall
purple thistles, curl around the oak trees,
then bank and disappear into the cottonwoods.

—OLIVIA ELLIS SIMPSON

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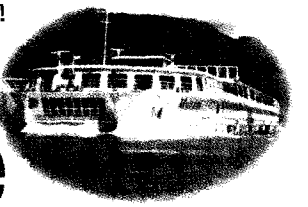

THE NATIONAL REVIEW 2003

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Sun./May 4	Munich/Passau		7:00PM	afternoon transfer to *Mozart* evening cocktail reception
Mon./May 5	Durnstein, Austria Vienna, Austria	9:30AM 5:30PM	12:30PM (overnight)	afternoon seminar
Tues./May 6	Vienna		7:30PM	late-night smoker
Wed./May 7	Esztergom, Hungary Budapest, Hungary	8:00AM 2:00PM	10:30AM (overnight)	late-morning seminar
Thurs./May 8	Budapest		4:30PM	afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Fri./May 9	Bratislava, Slovakia	9:30AM	2:00PM	afternoon seminar late-night smoker
Sat./May 10	Melk, Austria Grein, Austria	9:00AM 5:30PM	2:00PM 7:00PM	evening cocktail reception
Sun./May 11	Passau/Munich	8:00AM		transfer to airport

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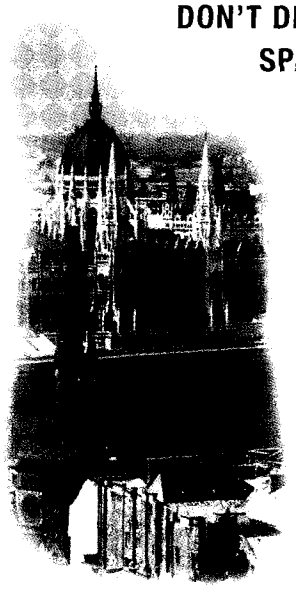

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Perils of 'Empire'

JOHN HILLEN

American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy, by Andrew J. Bacevich (Harvard, 320 pp., $29.95)

In reading the *Federalist Papers*, one becomes acutely aware of how much their authors felt they were attempting to outrun history's shadow. Madison's *Federalist* 10 in particular strains, through one line of argument after another, to convince the reader that this proposed republic will outrun the reasons that brought all others to ruin. The new government would be nothing less than a one-time escapee from the inevitable sorry fate of all republics.

Today's United States could use a similar effort for its empire. That it recognizes it has one is not in doubt. The National Security Strategy signed by President Bush last year boldly states that America has universal answers (there is "a single sustainable model for national success: freedom, democracy, and free enterprise"), intends to spread this gospel ("we will actively work to bring the hope of democracy, development, free markets, and free trade to every corner of the world"), and will brook no resistance ("our forces will be strong enough to dissuade potential adversaries from pursuing a military buildup"). A landmark Bush speech at West Point last June left no doubt that this empire would attack those threatening its citizens, its order, its prosperity, or the spread of its ideals. This was not the shining city on the hill as exemplar only; this was a vengeful and purposeful power.

But beyond the bare fact that we *have* an empire, there is—so far—not much substance to it: The National Security Strategy is declarative, but not operational. The principles of the empire have been articulated, but the strategy for carrying them out remains unclear. Important questions about the character and structure of our institutions, leaders, and allies need to be asked before we can be confident that this particular empire can stymie history and beat the foreseeable cycle of blowback and resistance, imperial overstretch, internal decline, and balancing powers.

Andrew J. Bacevich, a former Army officer and now professor of international relations at Boston University, puts us on the road to answering these questions in his timely and intelligent book *American Empire*. The ambitions of the book are not large; the author seeks chiefly to present a critical explanation for American statecraft in the 1990s. In that effort, Bacevich usefully frames the new imperial challenges in the context of American diplomatic history—and reminds the reader that the dominant narrative of America as a reluctant superpower is a myth. The U.S. has been on a long, if fitful, quest for an "open world" underpinned by America's own might. The global order pursued in one fashion or another by administrations over the past hundred-odd years is framed by democratic pluralism as the political norm, free-market capitalism as the economic standard, technical advancement as an undeniable creed, and a consumerist-based culture as the last word in social custom. Bacevich makes a persuasive case that this imperium has been our "policy by default" since the end of the Cold War, with the differences between Clinton and the two Bushes being principally tactical.

Beyond the bare fact that we have an empire, there is—so far—not much substance to it.

Indeed, the precepts of the American empire are hardly debated by serious political folk. No presidential candidate would now gainsay the following chain of logic: that robust and continued economic growth is an imperative for the U.S.; that the U.S. market alone is insufficient to sustain the necessary level of growth; that a well-ordered and generally peaceful international setting (i.e., democratic, capitalist, and consumerist) is therefore essential; and that the duty of an American political leader is to wield U.S. power and influence to preserve these conditions more or less worldwide. One candidate may emphasize human rights here and another candidate a strong military there, but as Bacevich details, "to a greater extent than any other factor, the pursuit of [global] openness defines the essential azimuth of U.S. policy, a course set more than a century ago and followed ever since."

Many other countries, of course, desire much the same result—but none has the iconic presence or sheer power of the U.S. In attempting to shape this basic condition of the world, the best any other state can hope for is to box a bit above its weight (the strategy of Britain and France) or use crisis-based trump cards well (as Russia and Pakistan did after 9/11). But the U.S. has a smorgasbord of real choices in how it pursues the strategy of openness, precisely because its preponderance of power is so overwhelming. A full and readily deployable suite of diplomatic, military, economic, technological, and cultural tools means that very real differences will emerge over exactly how to rule and govern this empire. We should begin to see many more operational debates like the current one over the balance between unilateral and multilateral approaches to coalition leadership on Iraq.

No matter how the U.S. chooses to carry out these imperial responsibilities, 9/11 reminded us there will be no rest for the imperial power in this system. Whether you call it globalization or openness, U.S. policy offers much to be against for many in the world. Look at it from the perspective of globalism's losers—of whom there are many. For them, the empire's engine of global growth is running-dog capitalism—with its volatility, ethical scandals, and no real component of social justice. Its governing method is unruly democracy, with its perennial election problems and a body politic inured to the indignity of money and influence in the process. Its

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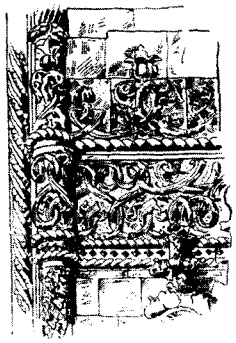
culture is licentious consumerism completely devoid of a moral anchor. Its key doctrine is soulless technology; Tom Friedman tells us it's about having innovation replace tradition. Will everyone see that as progress?

Resistance to the ideals of the empire will throw up many more bin Ladens, with ever more creative ways of harming the imperial order. It is the nagging problem of all empires, but one that can be handled by a focused and ruthless polity. On the other hand, there is a self-defeating mechanism within empires that will require considerable creative thinking to disable. If the purpose of the American empire is to liberate the politically repressed, enlighten the technologically backward, and enrich the poor—then the ideals of the empire themselves sow the seeds of its downfall. As Samuel Huntington's classic book *Political Order in Changing Societies* demonstrated, democratically engaged citizens have newfound aspirations that must be fulfilled; newly enriched societies seek ever greater wealth; and technologically enhanced societies use their new tools to seek advantage for themselves. Rising states can be more unstable and warlike than those stuck in repressive political systems and subsistence economies. "Progress," as defined by the ideals in America's national-security strategy, will not guarantee peace in the slightest. Outside resisters like bin Laden may trouble empires, but it is the empires' own acolytes who can bring them down.



Paul Kennedy's famous theory of imperial overstretch is much derided these days, but the hale idea in there is still that power must be husbanded and used wisely. Dominant global colossus or not, for America the essence of imperial statecraft is still discrimination—on when, where, why, and how to use power. This fundamental exercise is much more complex for an empire than a republic. What forum will be used to define the ends of the empire, and match means to objectives? Surely the systems and institutions of our republic are not suited to managing a core (the U.S. and a few allies—perhaps just Britain) and several different layers of periphery (all with different economic, political, and military needs). With NATO fading from relevance and the U.N. extraneous (and even structurally antithetical) to this schema, on what basis are we to organize allies and auxiliaries?

Our leaders, political and military, are trained to defend a republic and her principles. Our systems and our institutions are framed by a home (in good times) and away (in dire crisis) mentality that does not suit imperial management. Our public is weaned on the myth of the reluctant superpower and retains only a voyeur's support for the exertions and sacrifices needed to maintain order in the empire. Does the character of American institutions and leaders—and Americans themselves—suit an empire?

Just as Madison, Hamilton, and Jay knew that the suitability of Americans for a republic would be rooted in the character of their institutions, systems, culture, and leaders, Bacevich knows these are the questions worth answering when it comes to empire. He states that Americans "can no longer afford to dodge [the question] . . . of what sort of empire they intend theirs to be." But it is the enduring disappointment of this book that he himself does not propose many answers. He quotes a Navy admiral castigating the foreign-policy establishment for not "addressing the cosmic issue; everyone's going tactical. What's the United States going to do with its superpowerhood?" But Bacevich himself goes Socratic, teeing up issue after issue and then constantly backing away from clearly weighing in or proposing alternative approaches and policies.

This is particularly troubling in his excellent chapter on civilian-military relations and America's "militarized foreign policy." Bacevich is one of America's better thinkers on this subject, but in this book he simply scolds and probes, rather than attempting to offer advice or solutions. A cynical critic and a lucid writer, he skewers many of the figures who appear in his book (particularly General Wesley Clark). He has a quirky obsession with restoring the reputations of Charles Beard and William Appleman Williams—two departed left-wing scholars who warned of empire's travails. I have no doubt his study of these two men helped frame the questions of this book, but his fixation on them becomes distracting.

We can, however, find out what Bacevich thinks of this empire—because, two weeks before 9/11, he was quoted at length on the subject in the *Washington Post*. There he states that he would "prefer a non-imperial America": "Shorn of global responsibilities, a global military, and our preposterous expectations of remaking the world in our image, we would, I think, have a much better chance of keeping faith with the intentions and hopes of the Founders." But he also recognizes that as wishful thinking, wrote the *Post* reporter. "I see it as merely unavoidable, and suspect that we'll end up paying a higher cost, morally and materially, than we currently can imagine. . . . The practical question is not whether or not we will be a global hegemon—but what sort of hegemon we'll be."

So put Bacevich in the ranks of those realists (ranging from writer Fareed Zakaria to Condoleezza Rice and President Bush) who have come to accept the new imperium (and its discontents and resisters) as inevitable—so we might as well get on with it. As Charles Krauthammer writes, "Extremist rage against the United States is engendered by the very structure of the international system, not by the details of our management of it." Damned if we do, damned if we don't—so let us do. *American Empire* asks if we're ready for this. It's time to start formulating some answers. **NR**

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The Truth-Spiller

RONALD RADOSH

Red Spy Queen: A Biography of Elizabeth Bentley, by Kathryn S. Olmsted (North Carolina, 288 pp., $27.50)

On November 7, 1945, Elizabeth Bentley walked into the New York office of the FBI. She emerged after eight hours of interrogation, having signed a 31-page statement that implicated some 80 people in Soviet espionage—including U.S. government officials Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, Duncan Lee, and Maurice Halperin. Bentley would eventually become known to the whole country as a star witness before congressional investigating committees and at trials of Communist leaders.

Today, she is hardly remembered. To the extent that she exists in the current historical consciousness, she is usually treated as a symbolic example of what was wrong with the so-called McCarthy era, defined by most historians as a needless witch hunt perpetuated by the (usually false) stories told by ex-Communist witnesses such as Elizabeth Bentley. Ellen Schrecker, the dean of the anti-anti-Communist historians, refers to her in her 1998 book on the McCarthy era as a "melodramatic, unstable, and alcoholic woman" whom even FBI agents portrayed as "slightly hysterical." In his influential 1978 book, *The Great Fear*, the British writer David Caute put it more simply: "Elizabeth Bentley was a liar." This new biography of Bentley by historian Kathryn S. Olmsted of the University of California, Davis, will alter the historical landscape considerably: No longer will writers be able to dismiss Bentley's testimony so cavalierly.

Mr. Radosh, adjunct senior fellow at the Hudson Institute, is co-author with Joyce Milton of *The Rosenberg File*, and with Harvey Klehr of *The Amerasia Spy Case: Prelude to McCarthyism*.

Olmsted writes that Bentley helped "trigger an earthquake in American politics. The Alger Hiss case, the Smith Act prosecutions of Communist party leaders, and Senator Joe McCarthy's denunciations of State Department Reds all stemmed from Bentley's decision to walk into that forbidding FBI office." This is a bit of an overstatement—surely Whittaker Chambers had much more to do with the Hiss case, which first concentrated the nation's attention on the issue of domestic Communism—but Bentley was certainly prominent, and her key role as an ex-Communist witness makes this new assessment of her very important indeed.

■

She was a troubled and manipulative woman, but told the truth.

■

Unlike Chambers, Bentley was not a brilliant intellectual; nor was she an individual of deep philosophical conviction or a person of great character. Chambers's masterpiece, *Witness*, is still read and retains its emotional and intellectual power; Bentley's memoir, *Out of Bondage*, reads like a 1950s-style potboiler about a naïve college girl who joined the Communist underground "with the Man I Loved" (as a 1950s serialization put it). In that book, Bentley depicted herself—falsely—as a conventional housewife who, like any good wife, obeyed her husband. In fact, while she and Jacob Golos—who turned out to be a top Soviet agent within the American Communist party—were lovers, he was married to someone else. Olmsted correctly notes that Bentley's self-portrait was a fraud, and that she had, in reality, "led a most unconventional life, from her rejection of marriage to her choice of careers. She had successfully planned her defection to avoid assassination by the NKGB and imprisonment by the U.S. government."

On one level, then, Bentley's critics were correct: She was a troubled and manipulative woman, prone to alcohol abuse and gross exaggeration. Even as the press was dubbing her the "blonde spy queen," J. Edgar Hoover was privately complaining that Bentley was "making us look like saps." When she began public testimony, she showed sympathy for the plight of those she named, describing them as "a bunch of misguided idealists" led astray by cunning Communist party leaders; she also quickly started engaging in the behavior—in Olmsted's words, "the long and gradual process of 'improving' her story"—that led so many to distrust her.

Nevertheless, despite her foibles, errors, and exaggerations, Elizabeth Bentley told the truth in her major accusations about Soviet espionage; Olmsted makes clear that the Venona revelations of the recent past have all but confirmed Bentley's veracity. When the FBI was carrying out its search for the unknown and elusive courier the KGB used to get data from their spy Klaus Fuchs, they knew only that the mystery man was either a chemist or engineer. Bentley had told them, however, that one Abraham Brothman, her very first source, was a chemical engineer; Brothman in turn pointed them in the direction of Harry Gold—who turned out to be Fuchs's mystery courier, as well as courier for David Greenglass, Julius Rosenberg's brother-in-law.

Many of the offspring of people named by Bentley persist in asserting their relatives' innocence. Duncan Lee, a Wall Street lawyer who became personal assistant to William Donovan, head of the wartime OSS, was cultivated as a Soviet agent by Mary Price, a secretary to Walter Lippman who was herself a key Soviet operative. To this day, Lee's children steadfastly maintain that Bentley lied about his role as a Soviet agent. But, as Olmsted comments, "this interpretation assumes that Elizabeth and [Jacob] Golos perpetrated a massive and complex fraud against their Soviet superiors by systematically taking documents from other sources and claiming that they came from Lee. Some of the documents . . . though, were much more likely to come from Lee than from any other OSS source." Moreover, she correctly adds, one can take the Venona cables "at face value and acknowledge that they confirm Elizabeth's story."

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Another suspect named by Bentley was William Remington, who, as a member of the wartime War Production Board, regularly met Jacob Golos and handed over classified information on aircraft production and testing. Remington became a poster boy for leftists, who argued that an idealistic New Dealer was being falsely accused of Red ties by vicious McCarthyites. Remington claimed—falsely—that he knew Bentley only as a reporter for liberal publications, and that he had never handed over any data. His lawyers hired detectives to dig up easily found dirt about Bentley; he ended up suing her for libel. Remington's lawyer was the prominent liberal anti-Communist Joe Rauh, which made many of those who otherwise might have doubted Remington take his word at face value. In a number of cases, Bentley did in fact make careless charges—so it is quite ironic that it was the accusations against Remington that led to most of her suffering and trouble. Remington, as Olmsted writes, "was indeed guilty of espionage and perjury." Yet the libel suit was settled in his favor, and most commentators viewed the outcome as verifying Remington's claims and wrecking Bentley's.

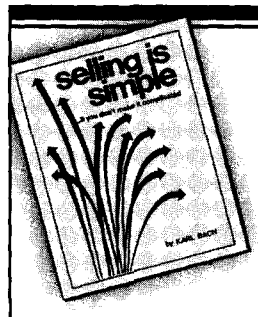
Even more strangely, the one case in which Olmsted concludes that Bentley "was lying about her [own] role" is that of assistant treasury secretary Harry Dexter White, whom Bentley accused of providing stolen U.S. currency plates to the Soviets. (The plates were used to print unlimited amounts of occupation currency in the eastern zone of postwar Germany, sparking a black market and serious inflation throughout the occupied country.) In fact, we know from the recent book *Sacred Secrets* by Jerrold and Leona Schecter that White *did* in fact provide the currency plates; the Schecters note that this action was just "another thread in the tapestry of service [White] wove on behalf of the Soviets." Olmsted is thus wrong when she writes that the decision to give the plates to the Russians was one of "incompetence," and was not "the result of espionage."

What, then, do we now make of Elizabeth Bentley, so many decades after her demise? Olmsted notes that when she died in 1963 at the age of 55, of abdominal cancer exacerbated by alcoholism, most obituaries (including the one in this magazine) were brief, and all "misunderstood her role as a spy." Usually viewed as merely a minor courier, she in fact controlled dozens of agents for the Kremlin, and her subsequent defection was of "monumental importance." Olmsted concludes that, in spite of all of Bentley's personal failings, it was nonetheless she who "had toppled the first in the row of dominoes that led to the convictions of Hiss and the Rosenbergs and to the deaths of Remington [who was murdered in prison] and Harry Dexter White [who had a fatal heart attack just days after testifying before Congress]."

In Olmsted's portrayal, Bentley comes across as something of a proto-feminist.

In Olmsted's portrayal, Bentley comes across as something of a proto-feminist: "A strong woman who defied limits, laws, and traditions," she smoked and drank, ran a major shipping company that served as a Soviet front, and openly engaged in scandalous sexual affairs. She also succeeded in deceiving and manipulating both the KGB and the FBI, "and lived to tell the tale." But one will look in vain to find Bentley claimed as a heroic role model from the past by America's left-wing feminists. For good reason: She betrayed everyone, her friends as well as her country. Had she not sought to profit monetarily from her crimes, she might never have become a public whipping boy and a key example of the supposed anti-Communist hysteria.

Olmsted has done history a great service with this nuanced and credible assessment. Her balanced and scholarly appraisal of Bentley's career will hold up and be hereafter cited as the most authoritative judgment. This book is also a welcome indication that some in our academy, given irrefutable evidence, are not afraid to face the facts about Soviet espionage in America. **NR**



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Mercury Rising

SCOTT MORRIS

The Heaven of Mercury, by Brad Watson (Norton, 288 pp., $23.95)

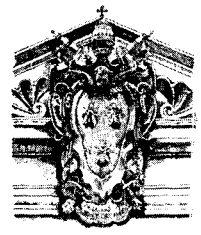
BRAD WATSON's collection of short stories, *Last Days of the Dog-Men*, gained him accolades, a national audience, and a teaching gig at Harvard. Though a justly praised book, it could never have prepared readers for what was to come. With his debut novel, *The Heaven of Mercury*, a finalist for the National Book Award, he has made one of those quantum leaps that so many great writers surprise us with.

It is a novel of ambition, maturity, and depth, framed in seamless and eloquent prose, and it lays claim to greatness. Set in Mercury, Mississippi—something of a fictional stand-in for Watson's hometown of Meridian, Mississippi—the novel begins in the present but ultimately covers most of the past century as seen through the lives of various Mercury residents. Structurally, Watson sets time spinning—lunging forward here and two-stepping backward there—but such fragmentation does not come across merely as a literary conceit. It instead reads as a cogent attempt to grant the reader an almost God-like perspective, in which lives, years, and events, past and present, are viewed contemporaneously. Every part of Watson's world is always alive, always present. Long-dead forebears and freshly arrived descendants coexist in the thick and teeming texture of his story.

We first encounter the main character, Finus Bates, when he is in his eighties. A wise and congenial fellow, he hosts a morning radio talk show, runs the local newspaper, and writes knowing and charming obituaries as friends and family members slowly die away. His hometown is decaying, as are its residents, and Finus realizes he is in a sense one of the last to go. He therefore sees himself as the public custodian of Mercury's collective memory, but in a town the size of Mercury, the lines between public and private are always blurred. With each death, Finus is again forced to review the ways in which he is connected with members of his community. In the end, this amounts to a glorious revelation, but it is not without its dark side. Finus is likeable but flawed, and at least one of his youthful mistakes affects him, and others, throughout his days.

As a young man, he fell in love with the vibrant Birdie Wells. She married another young man in town, Earl Urquhart, and though Finus eventually married and even had a son, he never stopped loving Birdie. What compromises Finus is that, with one exception, he never really made his love for Birdie known, never fought for her. His indecision had consequences not just for himself but for Birdie as well, who wound up in a largely loveless marriage.

Finus himself comes to see his life "as a long journey through a tangled wood, all as if in a semiconscious dream, a pretension of life." A pretension of life is very close to no life at all. Avis, Finus's wife, knows that full well: She becomes so embittered by their sham marriage, and the knowledge that Finus has all of his life held a torch for her best friend, that on her deathbed she tells Finus that he has ruined her life. Other characters fare no better. They struggle under the burden of their own transgressions, or suffer owing to the transgressions of others, or writhe in a web of torment made of strands woven by both themselves and others. Creasie, the Urquharts' maid, is raped by Earl's father, a sinister fraud full of bile and bluster. When she discovers she's pregnant, she goes to an old medicine woman who practices herbal remedies; the baby is aborted, but so is Creasie's ability ever to have children again. When Creasie attempts to kill wicked old Mr. Urquhart by poisoning his coffee, his son Earl—Birdie's philandering husband—drinks the coffee instead, pronounces it the worst he has ever tasted, goes to chop wood, and has a fatal heart attack.



The Heaven of Mercury is, then, a novel of missed chances and outright crimes. Yet, amazingly, it is also a novel of deep optimism and enduring inspiration. What saves Finus and the others in the story may be described as the long view—the fact that most people amount to more in this life, for better and for worse, than they suppose; and furthermore, that death is a transition and not a terminus. *The Heaven of Mercury* cannot be understood without coming to terms with these ideas; they are much more than a backdrop, they are shimmering and omnipresent. And the artfulness with which Watson has spiritually supercharged the air his characters breathe is the primary reason this novel is exceptional.

Parnell, the town mortician, provides some of the most memorable meditations: "Those who would embrace the beautiful dead are most open to the living, have nothing to fear, neither loss nor oblivion. The world was flesh and blood and bone, and through the blessed privilege of sensual touch lay contact with the spiritual world. The air is adrift with what presences are left behind." At one point he tells his new bride: "When I see the dead lying alone and unadorned on my preparation table, they look to me like they are God's children once again. To me they are beautiful as babies, and it is my privilege to place them, like the midwife, into God's hands." The novel is bursting with reminders of this sort. Never for a moment are the confines of birth and death allowed to stand as bookends; they are only bookmarks, and there is always more to the story.

For some, Watson's sensibility may seem almost macabre, an unseemly obsession with death and spirits. For others, his vision of immortality may appear to supplant rigor with sentimentality. Mercury's animals, for instance, can be carriers of human spirits; some human spirits are still trapped in their graves, biding their time for one reason or another; some are described in poetical terms that charm but do not convince. For these reasons, the novel has been described as a blending of Southern gothic and magic realism. That may be true as far as it goes, but Watson's effects are something more than atmospheric—in this book the fact that people continue beyond the grave offers a genuine prospect of redemption.

The author isn't trying to delineate, in any literal way, the landscape of life after

Mr. Morris is the author of *The Total View of Taftly*. His new novel, *Waiting for April*, will be published this spring.

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death, but that does not mean he views that landscape as somehow less than real. To risk being reductive—and one is always reductive when dealing with a work of art—his story amounts to a giddy offensive against the materialist sensibility that has become second nature to most of us. This novel wrests readers from that desiccated worldview.

In a spiritually plush story one might expect spiritually plush prose, and the novel does not disappoint in this regard. Even the adulterous cad Earl Urquhart gets a splendid sendoff: "Wanting to reach a hand out for the axe there in the graying film of his vision, not inches from his eye yet as if across some vast and light bent field at the end of a long day, piecemeal light scattering the air like mercury from a broken thermometer skittling across the floor." Heart attacks aren't much fun, of course, but aesthetically speaking, that's not a bad way to go. Watson's gift for description, whether of things earthly or heavenly, is remarkable throughout. In Birdie's later years, her skin is described as "soft and malleable as a plucked dove's." Finus goes to visit a witch who has a face "like an old burnt knot of lighter pine within which two milky pools of hardened sap regarded him calmly." Even as commonplace a thing as birdsong is invested with delightful heft: "The birds had begun their singing and their calls, a tuning up of the world."

Sooner or later all of the characters in the novel come to realize the animated loveliness that surrounds them. For some this understanding comes early, for others late; for some in this life, for others in the next. But eventually the charming design comes through, and for all of their problems and disappointments, the characters understand that they are confronted with a multitude of blessings. Shortly before Finus dies he takes a trip to the Mississippi coast. The last lines of the novel find him lying in the sand, noticing a bush "filled with preening monarch butterflies, migrated there from South America. . . . They seemed to shiver under his rapt attention. He felt such an outpouring of love for them, he thought he would weep. They seemed hardly able to contain their delight that he was gazing upon their beautiful wings." A sinner like Finus knows that there is but one response to such a vision: gratitude. Readers will be thankful as well. **NR**

■ THE STRAGGLER ■

Dads and Cads

JOHN DERBYSHIRE

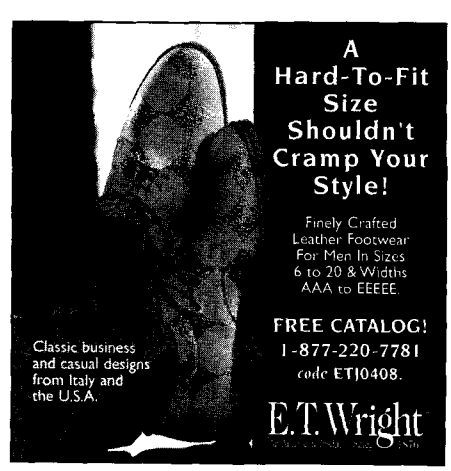
My sister's children were fully grown at the time my own first child was born, so she was handy with advice. Her first precept was: "John, parenting equals guilt." How right she was! When I contemplate my own offspring, currently aged ten and seven, I am oppressed by the reflection that I have left undone those things which I ought to have done, and done those things which I ought not to have done.

Mainly the former. Most of my child-raising guilt arises from the knowledge that I am a negligent parent. Please do not mistake my meaning there. I do not leave the little mites locked in the basement for days at a stretch with bowls of dog food for nourishment while I gambol among the fleshpots of Long Island. My children, thanks mostly to the ministrations of my wife, are well nourished and clean. Each of them owns, I am sure, more items of clothing than I do. They are well supplied with toys, at least to the degree that I have long since learned not to try crossing any room in the dark while barefoot. They enjoy the regular attentions of properly accredited doctors, dentists, and music instructors. As far as I can discern, they are happy, healthy, and well adjusted.

Nor are the little Derbyshires bereft of affection. Neither I nor my wife go in for the—it seems to us foreign-born citizens, and I apologize for any offense—cloying and embarrassing American habit of saying "I love you" to people we love, especially children. I am sure my own parents loved me in the proper measure, but if either of them had said so out loud, I would have assumed that some sort of acute mental illness had taken hold, and made my escape at the first opportunity to alert the proper authorities. In any case, my kids hear enough tender words, catch enough fond glances, see enough anger evaporate at the sight of a trembling lip, and squirm in enough parental embraces to know that they are, in fact, doted on.

No, the origin of my guilt is simply the awareness that I cannot be much bothered with my kids. Though they are certainly very sweet and adorable in their own way, it is a childish way, which cannot hold my attention for long. I am not quite such a curmudgeon as Evelyn Waugh, who regarded his own children with more or less open irritation, but I do see what he meant when he referred to them as "defective adults." Children of course know next to nothing about the world, so it is not possible to engage them in any long conversation about anything interesting. Most children have a sense of humor, but it is of a primitive, undeveloped sort, and soon palls. Kids say the darnedest things, but only very occasionally and by blind chance. Most of what they say is gibberish.

Feeling thus, I do not spend as much time with my kids as, I think, a conscientious modern parent is supposed to. Anthropologists, in their studies of cultures, distinguish between "high-investment" and "low-investment" parenting. Societies that practice high-investment parenting are those in which people go to a lot of trouble over raising their children. "People" in that sentence means mostly males, who have much more choice in the matter. In the most extreme cases of low-investment parenting, the menfolk simply impregnate women at random, then wander off in search of other women—a practice that can be sustained society-wide only in lush climates where women are able to provision themselves and their infants without too much trouble. In a piece of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informal jargon I like very much, anthropologists contrast male practitioners of the the low- and high-investment styles as "cads" and "dads," respectively.

I am certainly not a cad in this anthropological sense, but I am not much interested in dadding. On external evidence, I think this attitude is very widespread, certainly in the land of my birth. For some centuries now, every Englishman who could afford to do so has sent his children away from home to be raised by paid professionals. None of the parents concerned doubts for a moment that he is doing the right thing, nor is there any reason to think that he is deficient in affection. I am looking at a photograph from the early 1920s of the Conan Doyles standing in a family group on the platform at Waterloo Station, whither they have gone to see their two boys back to boarding school after the summer break. Their parental affection is plain to see; indeed, after Sir Arthur's death, his sons went to much trouble and expense in attempting to get in touch with him through spiritualist mediums. Likewise, Rudyard Kipling's letters to his son at boarding school are filled with kindness and humor, in between stern warnings to avoid "beastliness," and he was emotionally devastated when the boy was killed in WWI, as can be seen in several heartbreaking poems.

Organized systems of education are just high-investment parenting by proxy. Parents who, like me, are unwilling to give their children much time, hire other people as substitutes. Increasing numbers of parents in today's America regard this as an abdication of responsibility, and take charge of their children's education themselves. Whenever I grumble in an online column about my kids' experiences in public school, I get reproving e-mails from homeschoolers telling me I have only myself to blame: I was heartless to hand over the poor tots to the unionized products of teacher-training colleges staffed with all the horrid menagerie of *fin de siècle* nihilism—structuralists, feminists, Queer Theorists, peaceniks, and the rest. If I truly cared for my children's welfare, these e-mailers tell me, I would homeschool "as we do."

I understand their arguments, and applaud their dedication, at least up to the point where their ill-disguised attitudes of moral superiority come surging up over my threshold of irritation. Yet I find myself wondering: Don't they have anything better to do? It seems to me that this world offers far too many pleasures to the adult imagination for that imagination to be trapped four or five hours a day in the company of unformed minds, unless paid for the trouble.

■

Parents who, like me, are unwilling to give their children much time, hire other people as substitutes.

■

If I reply in these terms to a home-schooling e-correspondent, he (more often she, actually) generally responds by asking me why, in that case, I bothered to have children. This always leaves me at a loss. I suspect that a civilization in which "Why did you have children?" is an intelligible question is a civilization on the way out. My attitude here is pretty much that of Basil Fawlty when asked what is the point of being alive: "Beats me. We're stuck with it, I suppose." There are quite large areas of life in which, in my opinion, nothing is gained and much may be lost by thinking about things too much. **NR**

■ BOOKS IN BRIEF ■

The American Republic, by Orestes Brownson (ISI, 450 pp., $29.95)

PERHAPS the strangest thing about American conservatives is that they cannot ever agree on what American conservatism is. Some snarl at the name of Lincoln, others become enraptured; some celebrate the Declaration of Independence, others find it embarrassing; some fear majorities, others wish to unfetter them. Neither side in these disputes is above accusing the other of collusion with the enemy.

As if to command "Enough!" comes a new edition of Orestes Brownson's most famous work, complete with a learned introduction by Peter Augustine Lawler, one of today's most intelligent critics of American politics and culture. Brownson—a 19th-century Yankee who went from Presbyterian to atheist to Roman Catholic—defies even the most elaborate taxonomy. An unabashed Unionist, he nevertheless relied most heavily not on the natural-rights philosophy of the Declaration of Independence—Lincoln's favored strategy—but on the mordant polemics of the Frenchman Joseph de Maistre, a throne-and-altar reactionary if ever there was one. At times he spoke with Tocquevillian foresight: Though slavery was a "barbaric element" and "in direct antagonism to American civilization," he argued, the war to eliminate it could easily be falsely interpreted as a triumph for a "party of humanitarian democracy" that would strive to eliminate not only inequality between the races, but also that between the sexes, the rich and the poor, and even between the handsome and the ugly, the wise and the silly, and the stronger and the weaker. His rhetorical project, in other words, was to save the Union from its own apologists. Like it or not, Brownson suggests, American progressivism was conceived in the womb of abolition.

The challenge for conservatives is to locate a conservative tradition while carefully distinguishing it from the unseemly causes with which it has often been associated. In taking it up, no other thinker has succeeded as admirably as has Brownson; he deserves to be freshly remembered.

—AUSTIN W. BRAMWELL

The Breakaway Pope, by John Kiley (iUniverse.com, 295 pp., softcover, $17.95, e-book, $6)

IT happens that this book germinated over dinner at my house in Virginia many years ago. Jack Kiley, a contributor to *Triumph*, the monthly magazine founded by my husband, Brent Bozell, was our weekend guest. Jack had had one of his serial "cognitive breakthroughs," as he calls them, and sought Brent's advice on doing a novel about a pope. Here it is: a pope who rescues the planet in the nick of time. Find out, along the way, why *The Origin of Species* is a fairy tale. The world is ready for John Kiley's Peter II.

—PATRICIA B. BOZELL

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

A Future for Saddam

NEW YORK, JANUARY 21

THE talk now is of contriving an exile for Saddam Hussein.

We think back on the last impasse with Saddam Hussein. It was in November 1990 that the United States successfully urged on the United Nations a final date: a specific date (January 15, 1991) by which Saddam would need to have removed his conquering army from Kuwait or else face a military showdown. George Ball, the late, learned, omni-purpose diplomat, scolded Mr. Bush. He said that the president had gone from "a resolution" to "an ultimatum" and that ultimatums historically served as preludes to war. Moreover, "ultimatums are a decidedly 'non-Arab' procedure. The Arab peoples do not like irrevocable decisions that may lead to violence. There is an old Middle Eastern saying that if an Arab should ever cross the Rubicon, he would pick up the Rubicon and take it so that he could cross and recross it, as events evolved."

Well, of course the ultimatum *was* issued. Saddam did not abide by it, we went to war, defeated him, and liberated Kuwait. But lo! Saddam Hussein indeed succeeded in picking up the Rubicon and stuffing it, together with handbooks on atomic, biological, and chemical warfare, in his pocket. And now we are approaching a fresh ultimatum-time, the first installment of which, of course, is January 27, the date a wobbly U.N. Security Council has set. That threatened ultimatum, when activated, would accost the Iraqi problem by force of arms.

What is now apparently being considered as an alternative to war is an ultimatum of a different order. This one would call for Saddam to relinquish his power.

In January of 2002, the following lines were published in this space: An ultimatum should be made and "must specify that Saddam Hussein be removed from any cockpit from which he could give military or political directions that would obstruct our purpose. In short, the ultimatum should require Saddam Hussein to remove himself from office. To where? That is a matter of detail. St. Helena [looms] as an appropriate cloister. And arrangements could reasonably provide for a corps of aides of whatever reasonable number he wished, excluding only access by them to electronic communications."

It is easy enough to dismiss the idea on the grounds that Saddam would never accept it. What does that matter? The value of an ultimatum does not rest solely on whether it is acceptable. It defines a position. The accommodationist forces are at high speed mobilizing opposition to a ground war conducted by the United States. One set of reasons against such a war are vivid and undeniable. There would be casualties, including civilian casualties. There would be reprisals, conceivably featuring Saddam's (to be sure, non-existent) apocalyptic weapons.

So, Saddam turns down the ultimatum. In reasonable moral arithmetic, it becomes Saddam who, by the single act of refusing to step down, brought on war.

Some satisfaction was taken, almost 200 years ago, from Napoleon's sheer removal from his cockpit of imperial power, and that kind of satisfaction could be had from moving Saddam away from his hundred castles, to a single castle, in whatever island or enclave. There he could move his head in distemper from compliant executioner to designated victim, having to choose not from 24 million people, but from the 100 courtiers who elected to accompany him to exile. After a while they would diminish in number, even as Napoleon's court dripped steadily away from St. Helena.

Perhaps the suggested terms of exit have been forwarded to Baghdad and are being perused. The offer, of course, must have put in place wiles and seducements, and here Mr. Bush could be inventive. There would be scant opposition. The United Nations would quickly grant amnesty, as requested, sparing the exiled Saddam any interference from Spanish judges. The ultimatum must of course shrewdly opportunize on the matter of Saddam's entourage. Exile would not be appealing to those generals and janissaries in and around Baghdad. The ultimatum should therefore provide for segregated isolation, something of a kind that would induce the Brutuses in Baghdad to make their stand which, if boldly executed, would end the whole problem, even without having to air-condition St. Helena.

"I ordered a pizza three hours ago!—Are you trying to destroy my credibility?"

High Noon in Europe

NEW YORK, JANUARY 24

THE United States faces a military challenge abroad without the backing of France, Germany, and Clinton. Mr. Clinton's speech on January 23 was devoted mostly to disparaging the Bush tax-reform proposal. In doing so he used a quaint device: Tax reform would amount, he said with mock-serious facial concern, "to sending more money to me." That was his way of saying that he is now rich, which indeed he is, having been paid in the past year $9 million in speaking fees. In one of those speeches, in Raleigh on December 11, 2002, he said, "I hope the Democrats will support the position the administration now has in Iraq, which I think is the correct one."

The dispatch in the *New York Times* by correspondent David E. Sanger is worth study. It is entitled, "To Some in Europe, the Major Problem Is Bush the Cowboy." An unnamed U.S. diplomat reports that he hears complaints "all the time." "Much of it is the way he talks, the rhetoric, the religiosity," the diplomat reports. "It reminds them of what drove them crazy about Reagan. It reminds them of what they miss about Clinton. All the stereotypes we thought we had banished for good after September 11—the cowboy imagery, in particular—it's all back."

What is it—one gives intensive thought to the question—that the

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estranged French and Germans found so offensive in Reagan? One thinks back: Reagan said early on in his administration that Communism was headed for the ash heap of history, where it belonged. This astonished a professional diplomatic community that lives and breathes off ambiguity. Not much later, President Reagan said that we were dealing with an "evil empire." This caused true commotion: Chiefs of state were not expected to use language that issued from moral formulations, what some people no doubt thought of as "religiosity." And then Reagan, speaking in Berlin, pointed up to the stone masonry with its turrets and machine-guns and man-hunting dogs that for 25 years had kept immured Germans who longed for freedom. Reagan addressed the leader of the Soviet Union by saying: "Tear down that wall."

The dissenting Europeans were early on put off by President Bush, we learn from the dispatch in the *Times*, because he had said shortly after taking office that the Kyoto Treaty was "dead." The language was probably unwise, but Bush's decisiveness was in wholesome contrast to Mr. Clinton's evasions. He signed the Kyoto Treaty but never submitted it to the Senate, knowing that there—excuse the language—it would be "dead." Bush went on to reject U.S. submission to an International Criminal Court. His doing so projected a developing awareness of the underside of the cooperative, internationalist mystique. Such involvements contend with developments like a U.N. Human Rights Commission that will be headed up by Libya.

A confrontation on the point of collective action is now directly ahead, and some have warned of it for years. The senior Bush insisted in 1990 that the United Nations had to endorse the Gulf War, which was done. But now the junior Bush is up against a de facto mutiny from the creeping super-ordination of the United Nations over U.S. policy. President Bush will either ignore the call to go to the U.N. to authorize military action, or he will go to the U.N. and live with a French veto. Outlive a French veto?

If Mr. Bush has correctly analyzed the best interests of the United States, he will proceed to take action to remove Saddam Hussein. That is how such cowboys as Winston Churchill and Ronald Reagan would have acted, unafraid, in doing so, to invoke the blessing Lincoln invoked in his mission, about which there was a very great division.

The Parlous State Of the Union

NEW YORK, JANUARY 29

THERE was public discussion, a few days before the speech, on whether the president should begin with his domestic agenda, or move straight to the foreign challenge. The journalistic imperative is: *Go with what is most important.* The theatrical imperative says: *Save the third act for the third act.* The president did the right thing. If he had begun with his heroic strophes on America's resolution, it would have been difficult to go on to talk about protecting the redwood trees and providing free false teeth.

But when he did get to the foreign question, Mr. Bush was compelling in his analysis and in his rhetoric. He was, however, caught up in problems that his own analysis exposes. The first of these:

—He tells us that Saddam Hussein has materials "sufficient to produce more than 38,000 liters of botulinum toxin," described as "enough to subject millions of people to death by respiratory failure."

—He tells us that Saddam has "upwards of 30,000 munitions capable of delivering chemical agents," and that only 16 of these have been uncovered.

—He tells us that Iraq has "several mobile biological weapons labs," and that there is "no evidence" that these have been destroyed.

So, how is it proposed that our 150,000-man army is to protect the Mideast, let alone U.S. soldiers, from the fury of such weaponry? The president told the country persuasively that Hussein can have no motive in mind other than terror and conquest. If these weapons exist and are deployable, how are we preparing for their contingent use in war? Surely we are not dispatching our army into predictable toxic death?

And the second difficulty:

—The enemy has for twelve years cultivated its definitive weaponry. It has sought the components of nuclear destructive power from everywhere, including South Africa. "Year after year, Saddam Hussein has gone to elaborate lengths, spent enormous sums, taken great risks, to build and keep weapons of mass destruction."

—The United Nations has repeatedly called on Saddam Hussein to disarm. Repeatedly, Saddam has engaged not in disarmament, but in deceit.

—"Before September 11, many in the world believed that Saddam Hussein could be contained."

Who was it who did *not* believe that he could be "contained"? Not our own leaders. Because they did very little about it. Why did it require September 11 to establish the offensive capability of the terrorists? The president now tells us that "chemical agents, lethal viruses, and shadowy terrorist networks are not easily contained." And that "it would take one vial, one canister, one crate slipped into this country to bring a day of horror like none we have ever known."

If we have known with progressive certainty over twelve years that Saddam Hussein is creating these weapons and that he is not cooperating in any venture in disarmament, why have we not moved against him sooner? "In two years, America has gone from a sense of invulnerability to an awareness of peril." Why did we not rail against that sense of invulnerability two years ago?

It is too easy simply to blame Clinton for it. Yet the Republican platform in the year 2000, and the Bush presidential campaign, did not focus on the overwhelming need to move against Saddam Hussein. Indeed there are still many people, to say nothing of sovereign nations, who are disbelieving on the link between Saddam and the terrorists. Why didn't Mr. Bush in his very first State of the Union address highlight the need to do what on Tuesday night he insists is the manifest duty of the United States—to disarm Saddam?

There were words spoken of great weight and pathos, as when he told of victory never being free from sorrow, and of dreading the days of mourning that always come. President Bush spoke convincingly of the great historic mandate of the hour, but offered scant advice on how to defend the liberators on the scene from the terminal fury of Saddam; and no explanation for the torpor of twelve years.

But George W. Bush revealed himself to be a fit leader in this crisis. He showed a mastery of the relevant questions, and the self-confidence to tell the world that the United States is prepared to "lead a coalition to disarm him." Saddam Hussein can't understand English, but somebody there must have told him at about dawn on Wednesday, Iraq time, that his days are numbered.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

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DAVID FRUM

The 'Rush' to War, and The Day After Never

How often do we hear it said that America is "rushing toward war"? Presidential candidate John F. Kerry warned against the "rush to war" in a major speech at Georgetown University on January 23. The day before, the leaders of France and Germany delivered a similar warning. So did the editors of the *New York Times*.

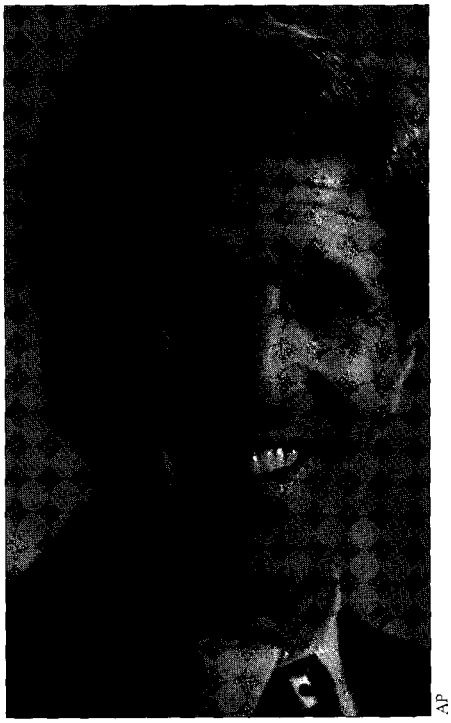
Well, everything is relative. Compared to the movement of the tectonic plates or the cooling of the earth's core, the United States is indeed hurtling headlong to war. But by the normal standards of political life, the "rush to war" is a rush only in the sense that 5 o'clock on the Santa Monica Freeway is the "rush hour." The truth is that we have been inching toward war for the past ten years—and there are still quite a number of inches left to traverse.

In the summer of 1993, Iraqi agents attempted to murder former President Bush during a visit to Kuwait. Assassinations of top political leaders are pretty notoriously grounds for war—in fact, Saddam Hussein cited the mysterious deaths of a number of his top officials as his justification for invading Iran in 1980. If the United States had been eager for war with Iraq, the Bush plot was a perfect excuse. Instead, President Clinton fired a couple of dozen cruise missiles into downtown Baghdad.

A little over a year later, Saddam Hussein abruptly massed 80,000 troops on Iraq's border with Kuwait. The U.N. Security Council passed yet another resolution condemning Iraq (Number 949 this time). American and British units rushed into the emirate to deter a second invasion of Kuwait—and then rushed back out again.

In 1995, Saddam's son-in-law defected to Jordan, delivering proof positive that Saddam had successfully concealed a biological-weapons program from the U.N. inspectors then operating in Iraq—but there was again no rush.

In September 1996, Saddam Hussein invaded the Kurdish safe haven in northern Iraq. The United States had promised to protect the Kurds. An unnamed high official was quoted in news accounts at the time predicting that a military response was "very likely"; Bill Clinton himself told the White House press corps that "reckless acts have consequences." Now the rush seemed to be on for sure—only it turned out that the consequences Clinton meant were another flurry of cruise-missile strikes.



AP

In 1998, the U.N. inspections regime in Iraq finally and definitively collapsed. The U.N. passed another passel of resolutions; at year's end, Clinton ordered up another flurry of air strikes to coincide with the impeachment vote. When Clinton's trial ended, so did the air strikes. No rush there.

Nor was there any rushing after George W. Bush took over in January 2001. The new president seemed more than content to wait for later—maybe a second term—before taking action against the dictator who had outlasted two hostile U.S. presidents. After 9/11, it's true that some people around President Bush began to question the Clinton policy of leaving Saddam in power more or less indefinitely. And in January 2002, President Bush's "axis of evil" speech warned that more decisive action against Iraq would come soon.

There was a time when a year was considered a long time in warfare. But although in every other aspect of life things seem to be speeding up, apparently when it comes to fighting, time is slowing down, and what was once considered merely a brisk speed now feels like a dizzying whirl.

Eighteen months after Pearl Harbor, and the United States was already in Sicily; 18 months since 9/11, and every one of the world's terror regimes except Afghanistan is exactly where it was a year and a half ago. Well, not *exactly* where it was: Libya has been promoted from mere membership of the U.N. Human Rights Commission to actual chairmanship of it. Otherwise, no signs of motion.

If ever any administration has moved with deliberate speed, it is this one. But no matter how slowly it moves, it is never slow enough. No matter how often it makes its case, it has never made the case enough. And no matter how much evidence of Saddam's dangerousness it adduces, the evidence is never convincing enough. When, do you suppose, would John Kerry and President Chirac and the editors of the *New York Times* think it a *good* time to overthrow Saddam? After another three months? Or six? Isn't it really the day after never?

It is not the speed of war that disturbs them. It is the fact of war. But this time, the fact of war is inescapable. War was made on the United States, and it has no choice but to reply. But there is good news: If the preparations for the Iraq round of the war on terror have gone very, very slowly, the Iraq fight itself is probably going to go very, very fast. The shooting should be over within just a very few days from when it starts. The sooner the fighting begins in Iraq, the nearer we are to its imminent end. Which means, in other words, that this "rush to war" should really be seen as the ultimate "rush to peace." NR

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That's been our goal for over 30 years. And our work is paying off. We help lenders offer mortgages to home buyers that save them as much as $25,000 over the life of a 30-year, fixed-rate conventional loan.

You see, at Fannie Mae, everything we do is in the pursuit of one goal — making the American Dream an affordable dream.

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